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AN ESSAY

ON THE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

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HAD the present attempt to illustrate the Chronology of the New Testament been of sufficient importance to justify a dedication, the author would have inscribed it to one whose public services need no comment, but from whom the author personally has ever, through life, received the most disinterested kindness,—

THE RIGHT HONBLE. LORD ST. LEONARDS.

P R E F A C E.

IN the following pages will be found occasional deviations from the chronology adopted in the Life of St. Paul. A more matured consideration of the subject, and a perusal of some of the German writers, particularly Anger and Wieseler, have enabled the author, it is hoped, to attain a nearer approximation to the truth.

13, UPPER HARLEY-STREET,

MAY 18, 1854.



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CHAPTER I.

THE TIME OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

THE year A.D. 1 was adopted as the commencement of the Christian era by Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of the sixth century. That the birth of Christ was thus considerably post-dated, or placed too late, is now universally admitted; and for the purpose of correcting the error we must carry our inquiry back from A.D. 1 into the previous period.

The birth of Christ was not long before the death of Herod the Great. The murder of the Innocents must stamp this fact upon every one's recollection. Our first object therefore will be to determine, if we can, the exact year in which the death of Herod occurred.

Josephus, besides other *indicia* of less importance, furnishes us with two distinct and independent tests for the discovery of the year in question. In the first place, shortly before the death of Herod an *eclipse* of the *moon* was observed at Jerusalem at *night*^a; and secondly, about Midsummer of the same year, Archelaus a candi-

^a Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί ἐξελίπεν. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 4.

date for the kingdom of Judæa pleaded his case before Augustus at Rome, when *Caius* the grandson, and adopted son of Augustus, was present, and took precedence of the other assessors ^b.

1. First, then, was the death of Herod in the year B.C. 1? We answer, No; for neither was there an eclipse of the moon at Jerusalem during that year, nor was Caius then at Rome; for he had sailed from Italy toward the close of the preceding year, or at the latest in the spring of this year, and was now occupied somewhere in the East, from which indeed he never returned.

2. Can the death of Herod be referred to the year B.C. 2? We may safely assume that Caius at this time was present in Rome, but then there was no eclipse of the moon that year at Jerusalem *at night*, though one actually occurred at Jerusalem *in the day*, viz., on January the 20th, at half-past two in the afternoon. We must also reject this year on another account. Josephus tells us that Archelaus reigned ten years ^c, and we learn from Dion Cassius ^d, that he was deposed in A.D. 6. He could not then have begun to reign, on the demise of his father, so late as B.C. 2, and, *a fortiori*, not so late as B.C. 1, for, on the former supposition, Archelaus in A.D. 6

^b Σὺν οἷς καὶ Γάϊον τὸν Ἀγρίππου μὲν καὶ Ἰουλίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς υἱὸν, ποιητὸν δὲ αὐτῷ γεγονότα, πρῶτόν τε καθεδούμενον παρέλαβε. Jos. Ant. xvii. 9, 5.

^c Δεκάτω δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς, &c. Jos. Ant. xvii. 13, 2. Βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελαῶν τὸ δεκάτον. Vita, s. 1.

^d Under the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, (A.D. 6,) is the following occurrence; ὁ, τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερωρίσθη. Dion. lv. 27.

would have reigned only eight years, and on the latter only seven.

3. Can we assign the death of Herod to the year B.C. 3? The objections to this again are insuperable, for during this year there was no eclipse of the moon at all at Jerusalem; and again, if Archelaus succeeded Herod in B.C. 3, he could not be said to have reigned ten years when he was deposed in A.D. 6. The latter argument is met by those who advocate the year B.C. 3, by the counter-statement that in the Wars Josephus speaks of Archelaus as banished not in his tenth, but in his ninth year^e. This no doubt is so, but the Wars was Josephus's earliest production, and when he had not made himself perfectly master of the previous history. In the subsequent and more accurate work of the Antiquities^f, and also in the Life of himself^g, written at a later period still, he computes the reign of Archelaus at ten years, and assuming this to be so, Archelaus could not have begun to reign in B.C. 3, if, as Dion states, he was deposed in A.D. 6.

We may add that coins of Herod Antipas have been found struck in the forty-third year, and some even in the forty-fourth year of his reign. The genuineness of the former has never been doubted, and there are no sufficient grounds for questioning that of the latter. Now Antipas was certainly deposed in the year A.D. 40, and if so he could not at that time have reached his forty-fourth year on the supposition that his reign commenced at the death of Herod in B.C. 3; *a fortiori*, he could not

^e *Ετεi τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐννάτῳ. Bell. ii. 7, 3.

^f Ant. xvii. 13, 1.

^g Vita, s. 1.

have begun to reign in B.C. 2; and *a fortiori* still, not in B.C. 1.

4. We come next to the year B.C. 4, and several arguments, derived from independent sources, lead us to the conclusion that the death of Herod must be referred to this, and cannot be assigned to any other year.

1. An eclipse of the moon did actually occur at Jerusalem on the night of March 12—13, B.C. 4, lasting from 1.48 a.m. to 4.12 a.m.^b If we examine the events related by Josephus as happening between the eclipse recorded by him and the following Passover, we shall find that they are just such as would occupy, without exceeding, the interval between the eclipse that took place on March the 12th, B.C. 4, and the ensuing Passover on April the 10th, B.C. 4.

This will appear from the following table, in which the events are adjusted according to their respective dates as nearly as a balance of probabilities will allowⁱ.

	March
The Rabbins are burnt alive by Herod	12
An eclipse of the moon the same night	12—13
The disorder of Herod increases, which is construed as a judgment for the death of the Rabbins	13
Herod is conveyed to Jericho, 150 stades, apparently on his road to Callirhoe, and without staying at Jericho	15

^b Wieseler, 56.

ⁱ All the particulars here mentioned will be found either in the Wars or the Antiquities. The author has set them out at greater length in order to give all the weight possible to the objection made by many that the events could not have occurred within the interval between the eclipse and the Passover.

	March
He proceeds to Callirhoe on the eastern coast of the Dead Sea, where he tries the effect of the warm baths	17
He is plunged into a vessel of oil, and is almost killed by it	19
He despairs of life, and distributes a donation to the army, and returns to Jericho	21
He summons by dispatches the chiefs of the nation from all Judæa, and they are imprisoned in the hippodrome from time to time as they arrive. Letters come from Rome, and Herod revives a little	22
He relapses and makes an attempt upon his life. Antipater at the news of it tries to bribe the jailor to release him, but the jailor gives information to Herod, and Herod puts Antipater to death.	23
Death of Herod five days after, that is, on the fifth day inclusive	27
His death concealed until the prisoners in the hippodrome have been released and sent home	
Herod's death announced to the people convened in the amphitheatre and preparations made for a splendid funeral	28
Burial of Herod. (N.B. The usual time of burial was on the same day as the death, as in the instance of our Saviour. The preparations on this occasion were probably not long)	April 2
Mourning of seven days ends. (N.B. If the mourning began from the death, and not from the burial, it would have ended some days before)	8
Archelaus addresses the people in the temple	9
The Passover. A stir in the city by the friends of the Rabbins mourning for their death now that the mourning for Herod had ceased. Archelaus sends	

April

an officer to appease them by soft words. He is pelted. Others are sent, but with no better success. A band of soldiers is sent against them, and on their being driven back the whole army is sent, and three thousand of the people slain. At this time they were sacrificing at the Passover . 10

In this table different persons may entertain different opinions as to the exact time to be allowed to any particular event, but the reader will see that the occurrences upon the whole adapt themselves very well to the actual interval between the eclipse on March the 12th and the Passover on April the 10th. Should any part seem to demand larger space, it may be conceded, for the suppression of the public *emeute* on account of the Rabbins is placed in the above table on the *first* day of the Passover, whereas Josephus mentions only by way of accounting for the multitudes assembled, that it was *during* the celebration of the Passover; and as this feast lasted eight days, viz., from April the 10th (inclusive) to April the 17th (inclusive), the disturbance may have been quelled on any day not later than the 17th, so that seven days more, if necessary, may be allowed to the foregoing series of events.

2. Another argument for placing the death of Herod in B.C. 4 is this. Josephus relates that Herod in B.C. 47 had completed his 15th year^k. It is agreed, as is evident enough, that 15 is a mistake, and most likely for 25^l, and if so Herod was then in his 26th year, and

^k Πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει μόνα ἔτη. Jos. Ant., xiv. 9, 2.

^l A similar error occurs in the reign of Hyrcanus; for it is clear that τεσσαράκοντα in Ant. xv. 6, 4 is written for τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι, as appears from Ant. xx. 10.]

in B.C. 4 would be in his 69th year. Accordingly Josephus mentions that Herod was at the time of his death “well nigh of the age of 70^m.”

3. We have before mentioned that at the hearing of Archelaus at Rome, in the midsummer of the year in which Herod died, Caius, the adopted son of Augustus, was present. And it will be observed that no allusion is made by Josephus to Lucius, the brother of Caius, and the other adopted son of Augustus. All this agrees with the year B.C. 4, for Caius had assumed the *toga virilis* the preceding year, B.C. 5, and Lucius did not assume the *toga virilis* till the year B.C. 2. Caius therefore would naturally be present at an important public discussion in B.C. 4, while Lucius would not.

4. Archelaus, as we have seen, was banished in the 10th year of his reign, and, as we are informed by Dion Cassius that this event occurred in A.D. 6, we must conclude that Archelaus succeeded his father Herod at the latest in B.C. 4, and could not have done so in B.C. 3 or any subsequent year.

5. Philip, another of the sons of Herod, and the tetrarch of Trachonitis, is said to have reigned 37 years, and he died in the 20th year of Tiberius, i. e. between Aug. 19 A.D. 33 and Aug. 19 A.D. 34ⁿ. If, as we have supposed, Herod died a little before the Passover, B.C. 4, the 37th year of Philip would be complete a little before the Passover A.D. 34, and if so, part of the 37th year of Philip would coincide with part of the 20th year of Tiberius.

^m Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. Jos. Bell. i. 33, 1.

ⁿ Εἰκοστῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 6.

6. We have before referred to certain coins of Herod Antipas. Some of these were struck in his 43rd year^o, and some, according to Vaillantius and Gallandus, were struck in his 44th year. Eckhel indeed suggests that Vaillantius and Gallandus may have been mistaken, but this is mere hypothesis^p. Now if Herod died before the Passover B.C. 4, the 43rd year of Antipas would commence in the spring of A.D. 39, and the 44th year in the spring of A.D. 40. What then was the exact time when Herod Antipas was deposed? We learn from Josephus that it was in the 4th year of the reign of King Agrippa over the tetrarchy of Trachonitis, which had been conferred upon him by Caligula in March A.D. 37^q. The deprivation of Herod Antipas would therefore be after March A.D. 40, (when the 4th year of Agrippa began,) and not long after March A.D. 40, for Caligula returned to Rome from his Germanic expedition on August the 31st of the same year, and in Agrippa's letter to the emperor, written shortly afterwards, on the subject of the erection of the statue in the temple at Jerusalem, allusion is made to the banishment of Antipas as having already taken place^r. Assuming therefore that Antipas was banished some time between March and August A.D. 40, the coins of the 43rd year might

^o Γαιω. Καισ. Γερμ. Σεβ. Ηρωδης. Τετραρχης. L. MΓ. Eckhel doct. num. vol. iii. 486.

^p See Eckhel ubi supra.

^q (Agrippa) τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου (Antipas) προσειληφῆς. Ant. xix. 8, 2.

^r Αὐτίς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρας μείζονος (χώρας βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω) τὴν Τραχω-
νίτων καὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας. Phil. Leg. 41: that is, Caligula had added the dominions of Antipas to those which Agrippa had before possessed.

very well have been struck by Antipas in the spring of A.D. 39 before he sailed to Rome, and those in the 44th year in the spring of A.D. 40 before he was exiled, and *a fortiori* before the news of his disgrace could have reached Judæa.

We shall now consider some objections that may be advanced against the hypothesis that Herod's death occurred in B.C. 4.

1. It may be said that John the Baptist, according to St. Luke, opened his ministry in the 15th year of Tiberius^b, i.e. after Aug. 19, A.D. 28, and that Jesus, who followed John, could not have begun to preach until toward the close of A.D. 28 at the earliest; that Luke tells us that Jesus was "at the beginning (viz. of His ministry) of about 30 years^c;" and if so His birth would be referrible to the close of the year B.C. 3, and then Herod, it is argued, could not, as supposed, have died in B.C. 4, as Christ was certainly born in the lifetime of Herod.

Such is the objection, but it may be shewn to be untenable. The argument assumes the meaning of Luke to be that Jesus when He began was just about 30 years old, that is, within a few days, or weeks, or months of that exact age. But this interpretation cannot be maintained, for if Christ was 30 years old in the 15th year of Tiberius, i. e. at the close of A.D. 28, He was born at the close of B.C. 3, and Herod must have died at the earliest in the spring of B.C. 2. But

^b Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κ.τ.λ. Luke iii. 1.

^c Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος. Luke iii. 23.

the latter fact may be pronounced absolutely impossible; for in the first place there was no eclipse of the moon in that year; and secondly, Archelaus, who was banished in A.D. 6, could not have reigned either 9 or 10 years, as Josephus states was the case; and thirdly, Herod Philip, who died in the 20th year of Tiberius, could not have reigned 37 years; and lastly, Herod Antipas, who was deposed in A.D. 40, could not have struck coins in the 43rd and 44th years of his reign.

But in fact Luke does not state that Jesus *was* 30 years old, but only in round numbers that He was “of *about* 30 years.” The Evangelist might fix on the number of 30 not only from the common usage of mankind in reckoning by decads, omitting the units, but also from the circumstance that the Levites, the Jewish priests, commenced their office at the age of 30^u. Luke then might mean only that Jesus was nearer 30 than 40 or 20, as the expression “about 300” might signify nearer 300 than 400 or 200. If Herod died in the year B.C. 4 and Christ was born six months before, say in Sept. B.C. 5, He would in Oct. A.D. 29, when as we shall see He began His ministry, be just about 33: and the expression of Luke, which is in round numbers, is not inconsistent with this supposition. From the language of Luke on other occasions we should rather infer that in this place he employs the words “of *about* 30” with some degree of latitude. Thus Luke tells us that Jesus, when taken by His parents to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover, was “12 *years old*,” not “of *about* 12;” so that when he speaks of Jesus as “of

* Numbers iv. 3.

* ὅτε ἐγένετο ἑτῶν δώδεκα. Luke ii. 42.

about 30," he intends something different from 30 exactly. Again, he represents the transfiguration as occurring "*about 8 days*" (ὥσεὶ ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ, Luke ix. 28) after the acknowledgment by Peter that Jesus was the Christ; but both Matthew, xvii. 1, and Mark, ix. 2, say it was "*6 days after.*" Here therefore Luke, in calling 6 days "*about 8 days,*" uses the same laxity of language as in stating Jesus to be *about 30* when He was just about 33. It is not improbable that Luke at the time he was writing did not know what the precise age of Christ at the commencement of His ministry really was, and therefore purposely expressed himself in general terms.

We may also hazard the conjecture that the difficulty, if any, in the passage of St. Luke, has arisen from the error of a transcriber. Jesus began His ministry in the autumn of A.D. 29, when He was of the age of 33, and Luke perhaps wrote that Jesus was then *τριῶν τριάκοντα* or 33, and in the MS. the reduplication of the *τρια* was not observed (ΤΡΙΩΝΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ), and, one of the two *τρια* being accidentally omitted, the copyist wrote "*about 30*" instead of "*about 33.*"

2. Another objection that may be urged against placing the death of Herod in the year B.C. 4 arises from the statement of Josephus that Herod reigned 37 years from his appointment to the kingdom of Judæa by the Romans, and 34 years from the death of Antigonos, the last of the Maccabean princes⁷; whereas it is said that if Herod

⁷ Βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνείλεν Ἀντίγονον ἕτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, μεθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδέδεικτο ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 1.

died B.C. 4 he had not reigned 36 years from the one event or 33 years from the other.

In order to deal with this argument, and to understand what force is due to it, we must endeavour *in limine* to ascertain with some degree of precision, First, at what time Herod was declared king by the Romans, from which is to be dated what may be designated his *nominal* reign; and Secondly, at what time occurred the death of Antigonus, from which began what may be called Herod's *actual* reign. We shall then proceed to determine as well as we can in what sense Josephus is to be understood when he ascribes 37 years in the one case and 34 years in the other to the reign of Herod.

1. As to the *nominal* reign of this king, all chronologers agree in assigning the commencement of it to the year B.C. 40, and we can arrive at the exact period of the year without much difficulty.

Early in the year (B.C. 40) Pacorus and Barzaphernes at the head of two divisions of Parthians invaded Judæa, the former proceeding along the coast and the latter through Galilee. Pacorus advanced against Herod and Phasaelus, who were then in Jerusalem, about the time of the Pentecost, which was on May the 10th².

After the Pentecost, or May the 10th, occurred the following events:

Herod engages in battle with Antigonus and his adherents, and shuts them up in the temple and in their entrenchments, Bell. i. 13, 3; Ant. xiv. 13, 4.

Pacorus and the Parthians, under pretext of recon-

² 'Ανέμενον οἱ πολέμοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πεντηκοστὴν. Ant. xiv. 13, 4. 'Ἐνστάσης δ' ἑορτῆς ἢ πεντηκοστῆ καλεῖται. Bell. i. 13, 3.

cing differences, are admitted into the city, Bell. i. 13, 3; Ant. xiv. 13, 4.

Hyrcanus and Phasaelus go on an embassy to Barzaphernes in Galilee, and appearances of friendship are for some time kept up, but eventually Barzaphernes makes them prisoners, Bell. i. 13, 4; Ant. xiv. 13, 5.

Secret intelligence of the treachery is brought to Herod, and he and his adherents (9000 in all) quit Jerusalem at night, Bell. i. 13, 7; Ant. xiv. 13, 7.

The next day the Parthians are masters of the city, and make Antigonus king, Bell. i. 13, 9; Ant. xiv. 13, 10. (This was about July the 5th, for at the fast on Oct. the 5th B.C. 37 Antigonus had reigned 3 years and 3 months*, and if so he had been declared king by the Parthians about July the 5th, B.C. 40.)

Herod fights with his pursuers at Herodium, at some distance from Jerusalem, Bell. i. 13, 8; Ant. xiv. 13, 9.

He meets his brother Joseph at Thressa and commits his family to him, and posts him with a garrison at Masada in Idumæa, a place well stored for a siege, and proceeds himself to Petra, Bell. i. 13, 8; Ant. xiv. 13, 9.

Herod is repulsed by Malchus, king of Petra, and retires towards Egypt. He sleeps the first night in a temple, and the next night reaches Rhinocolura, on the borders of Egypt, where he hears of the death of Phasaelus, Bell. i. 14, 2; Ant. xiv. 14, 2.

Herod cannot procure a passage from Rhinocolura to Alexandria by sea, but is at length allowed to pass thither by land, Bell. i. 14, 2; Ant. xiv. 14, 2.

* Βαρζαφέρνης δὲ καὶ Πάκορος . . . Ἀντίγονον κατέστησαν βασιλεύ. Τρία δὲ ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἄρξαντά τοῦτον Σόσσιός τε καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξεπολιόρησαν. Ant. xx. 10.

At Alexandria Cleopatra detains him and tries to prevent his further progress, Ant. xiv. 13, 2; Bell. i. 14, 2.

He sets sail for Rome, though he would have to encounter the winter on his voyage *μήτε τὴν ἀκμὴν χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας*, Bell. i. 14, 2; and see Ant. xiv. 14, 2.

He sails by way of Pamphylia and is overtaken by a storm, and reaches Rhodes with difficulty, Bell. i. 14, 3; Ant. xiv. 14, 3.

At Rhodes he fits out another ship and sails to Brundisium and then proceeds to Rome, which he reaches in due time, Bell. i. 14, 3; Ant. xiv. 14, 3.

During his absence his kinsfolk are distressed for water at Masada but are relieved by the rains which usually occur about a month after the Feast of Tabernacles, and therefore late in October, Bell. i. 15, 1; Ant. xiv. 14, 6.

The summary may be thus stated. Herod was at Jerusalem at the Pentecost on May the 10th. His flight from Jerusalem was about July the 5th. After settling the garrison at Masada and a detention for some time at Alexandria he may have set sail from Egypt about Aug. the 1st. He would arrive at Rhodes about the middle of August. After fitting out a ship he would again set sail about the end of September. He would arrive at Rome some time in November. He remained at Rome 7 days only, and it was during this brief interval that by a decree of the senate he was declared king of Judæa^b.

2. We have to fix the commencement of Herod's *actual* reign, i.e. from the death of Antigonus.

^b Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 4 and 5.

The capture of Jerusalem by Herod was in the year B.C. 37. Dion Cassius indeed places it in B.C. 38^o, but Josephus, in a matter peculiarly affecting his own people, is entitled to greater credit, and the series of events related by Josephus shews conclusively that Jerusalem could not have fallen *before* the year B.C. 37. Assuming this to be so, the capture of the city was on the day of the Fast A.D. 37, that is, on Oct. the 5th^d. Antigonus was then made a prisoner, and shortly afterwards sent by Herod to Mark Antony at Antioch^o. Here, though the interval must have been brief, but how soon after is not mentioned, Antigonus was beheaded. This closed the line of the Maccabean princes^f. The execution of Antigonus may be placed therefore in November B.C. 37, and from this event commenced what we have called the actual reign of Herod.

Having ascertained with sufficient exactness the two *termini* from which the nominal reign and the actual reign of Herod are respectively to be dated, we proceed to inquire in what sense Josephus, when he attributes 37 years to the nominal, and 34 years to the actual reign of Herod, is to be understood.

We may observe in the first place that Josephus professes generally to write with extreme accuracy. We should therefore expect that where the duration of a

^c Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβάνου τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο. Dion, xlix. 22. But Dion in these words may be referring, not to the capture of Jerusalem, but to the siege of Samosata by Antony, with which he had begun the chapter, and which *was* in B.C. 38.

^d τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας. Ant. xiv. 16, 4.

^e Ant. xv. 1, 2.

^f Παύεται οὕτως ἡ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατον καὶ εἴκοσι ἕξ. Ant. xiv. 16, 1.

reign could be ascertained with precision, the historian would not express himself in ambiguous terms, but would state the limits definitely, not only in years, but also in months, or even in days. Accordingly we find that in the case of the Roman emperors, Josephus gives us the exact length in the most particular manner. Thus he tells us that Augustus reigned 57 years 6 months and 2 days^g, Tiberius 22 years 5 months and 3 days^h, Caligula 3 years and 8 monthsⁱ, Claudius 13 years 5 months and 20 days^k, Nero 13 years and 8 days^l, Galba 7 months and 7 days^m, Otho 3 months and 2 daysⁿ, Vitellius 8 months and 5 days^o. Josephus may or may not be correct in his calculations, but this manifests at all events a desire, where he had the means, of marking the duration of the imperial reigns, even to the minutest fraction.

The *Jewish* kings were comparatively insignificant, and the world at large cared little for the time of their accession or demise. The historian therefore with respect to them had not the same sources of information, and could not descend into the same details. However Josephus where it was practicable distinguishes the parts of a year even in their reigns. Thus Aristobulus is said to have reigned 3 years and 3 months^p, and Antigonus, a like period of 3 years and 3 months^q. Now if Josephus were precise in the reign of any Jewish king, one would expect to find him so in the instance of Herod, the greatest of

^g Ant. xviii. 2, 2. Bell. ii. 9, 1.

^h Ant. xviii. 6, 10, but according to the Wars 22 years 6 months and 3 days. Bell. ii. 9, 5.

ⁱ Ant. xix. 2, 5. Bell. ii. 11, 1.

^k Ant. xx. 8, 1. Bell. ii. 12, 8. ^l Bell. iv. 9, 2. ^m Bell. iv. 9, 2.

ⁿ Bell. iv. 9, 9.

^o Bell. iv. 11, 4.

^p Ant. xx. 10.

^q Ant. xx. 10.

the Jewish princes, and whom Josephus loses no opportunity of magnifying. As to the *commencement* indeed of Herod's reign, we are furnished by Josephus with sufficient particulars; for as to the *nominal* reign we are informed that he was appointed king by the Romans in the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus, and C. Asinius Pollio, i.e. B.C. 40^r, and as to the *actual* reign, that the capture of Jerusalem, (which led to the death of Antigonus, the date of Herod's accession,) was in the consulship of M. Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, i.e. B.C. 37^s; and in either case we can collect from the narrative at what period or season of the year the events occurred. But when we come to the *death* of Herod, no mention is made of the consulship or Olympiad, nor is there any other direct indication of the year. It would seem therefore that in the records from which Josephus drew his materials the time of the death of Herod was not given with precision, so that he could only tell us in general terms that Herod reigned 37 years from his elevation to the crown by the Romans, and 34 years from the death of Antigonus.

We shall now endeavour to ascertain, as far as we can, what must be understood by the statement in round numbers that Herod's nominal reign was 37 years, and his actual reign 34 years. The result will shew us whether this testimony of Josephus is or is not consistent with the hypothesis that Herod died in the year B.C. 4.

The inquiry involves the investigation of two questions, which we must consider in order. First, Did Josephus intend 34 or 37 years *complete* or 34 or 37 years *current*? And secondly, From what terminus or part of the year

^r Ant. xiv. 14, 5.

^s Ant. xiv. 16, 4.

did Josephus begin to count the years, whether complete or current?

First, Did Josephus mean years complete or years current? In other words, did he mean that Herod reigned 34 or 37 years and some months *over*, or 34 or 37 years *wanting* some months? The usage of the Jewish historian in this respect is not uniform, but it may be assumed that although occasionally he speaks of years as *complete* years, yet generally he refers to years as *current*. We shall give an instance of each mode of computation, from which the reader will see that the reign of Herod may be reckoned in either of the two ways, as circumstances require.

The reign of Hyrcanus commenced on the day of the Fast, or the 22nd of September, B.C. 63^t, and terminated three months before the Fast, and therefore about Midsummer B.C. 40^u, and Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus reigned 24 years^x. We shall discuss presently from what terminus or part of the year Josephus usually computes the commencement of a reign; but whether from the Fast B.C. 63, or from the 1st of Nisan preceding, or from the 1st of January preceding, in either case it is obvious that Josephus addresses himself to 44 years *current*, and not to 44 years *complete*.

On the other hand Agrippa the Great was made king by Caligula in the month of March A.D. 37, and he died a little after the passover (March 31) of A.D. 44, and is said to have reigned seven years. Here

^t Ant. xiv. 4, 3. Bell. i. 7. 4; v. 9, 4.

^u Ant. xiv. 13, 10; xx. 10. Bell. i. 13, 9. Antigonus who succeeded Hyrcanus had reigned at the Fast of B.C. 37, when he was deposed, three years and three months. He had therefore begun to reign three months before the Fast of B.C. 40.

^x Ant. xx. 10.

therefore the historian intends seven *complete* years with a month or two over^γ.

Secondly, From what terminus or part of the year does Josephus begin to reckon the years of Herod's reign? for assuming that we have found the year and time of year when Herod became king, Josephus might compute the reign in three different modes: 1, Josephus might reckon the years from the commencement of the reign in fact, viz., from November to November, being the month in which Herod was king nominally in B.C. 40, and actually in B.C. 37: or 2, Josephus might regulate the years by the Jewish ecclesiastical year, which began on the 1st of Nisan, and so compute the first year of Herod from the 1st of Nisan that preceded the commencement of the reign, and the second year from the 1st of Nisan that followed the commencement, though only a few months had then elapsed; or 3, Josephus might adapt the years of the reign to the Roman year, which began on the 1st of January, and so reckon the first year of Herod from the 1st of January that preceded the commencement of the reign, and the 2nd year from the 1st of January that followed the commencement, though Herod had then been only a few months on the throne. We shall examine each of these modes of computation in order.

1st. The natural supposition would be that Josephus computed the years from the commencement of the reign in fact, viz. from November to November, and there are numerous instances in which Josephus reckons the reign of a prince in this way, viz., from the very time of the actual

^γ Ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δὲ ἑβδόμον. Ant. xix. 8, 2.

accession. Thus the Jewish war, which broke out in the month of Artemisius, or May, A.D. 66, is said to have commenced in the 12th year of Nero^z, that is, in the 12th year, as current from the 13th of October, A.D. 65, to the 13th of October, A.D. 66, Nero having succeeded Claudius on the 13th of October, A.D. 54. So Jotapata, which was taken in the month of Panemus, or July, A.D. 67, is said to have fallen in the 13th year of Nero^a, that is, as current from the 13th of October, A.D. 66, to the 13th of October, A.D. 67. And again, the temple, which was burnt in the month of Lous, or August, A.D. 70, is said to have been thus destroyed in the second year of Vespasian, that is, in the second year as current from the 1st of July A.D. 70 to the 1st of July A.D. 71, Vespasian having been declared emperor on July the 1st, ^{A.D.} B.C. 69^b.

The above instances have reference to the Roman emperors, whose reigns were well known, but similar examples, though more rare, may be found in the history of Jewish kings. Thus Josephus, speaking of Herod himself, relates that the spring of B.C. 37 was in the third year of his reign from the time of his appointment by the Romans in B.C. 40, that is, in the third year as current from November B.C. 38 to November B.C. 37^c. So Herod is said to have completed the building of Cæsarea in the 28th year of his reign, in the 192nd Olympiad^d. The 192nd Olympiad comprised the latter half of B.C. 12 and the first half of B.C. 11. Neither of these years could be

^z Δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. Bell. ii. 14, 4.

^a Bell. iii. 7, 36.

^b Ἐτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὔεσπασιάνου ἡγεμονίας. Bell. vi. 4, 8.

^c Bell. i. 17, 8. Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

^d Εἰς ὄγδοον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρας καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατον. Ant. xvi. 5, 1.

the 28th of Herod's reign from November B.C. 37, when he became king *de facto*. The reign intended therefore is that from November B.C. 40, when Herod was proclaimed king by the Romans, and the 28th year, as computed from the actual time of commencement, would be current from November B.C. 13 to November B.C. 12, and at Midsummer of the latter year would occur the 192nd Olympiad.

2. Josephus may have computed the reign of Herod by reference to the Jewish ecclesiastical year, which began on the 1st of Nisan. In fact the Jews are stated in the Rabbinical writings to have reckoned the years of their princes in this way, not from the actual day of accession, but from the 1st of Nisan preceding, and then to have attributed an additional year for every subsequent 1st of Nisan, or New Year's day, that occurred during the reign°. So the Egyptians are said to have calculated the years of a king, not from the time of his assuming the crown, but from their month of Thoth^f. To apply this mode of computation to the case in hand, if Herod began to reign nominally in November B.C. 40, and actually in November B.C. 37, the first year would be dated in the one case from the 1st of Nisan B.C. 40, and in the other from the 1st of Nisan B.C. 37, and the second year would be said to commence in the one case from the 1st of Nisan next after November B.C. 40, and in the other from the 1st of Nisan next after November B.C. 37. In this way, if Herod lived but a day beyond the 1st of Nisan

* Non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano. Gemara. Bab. Nisanus initium anni regibus ac dies quidem unus in anno (viz. post calendas Nisani) instar anni computatur. Ib. Unus dies in anni fine pro anno numeratur. Ib. see Anger, p. 9, note (x). Wieseler, 52, note 1.

^f See Anger, 15.

B.C. 4, a new year would have begun, and then Herod would be considered to have reigned 37 years from his accession in November B.C. 40, and 34 years from his accession in B.C. 37.

There appear, however, to be some objections to this hypothesis; for as Josephus was writing at Rome and for Gentiles, he was more likely to adopt the Roman than the Jewish mode of measuring time; and accordingly it is worthy of remark, that in his works he furnishes the dates of important public events, not by reference to the Jewish year at all, but to the Roman consulships, and occasionally to the Greek Olympiads.

As regards the reign of Herod in particular, it is at least doubtful whether this mode of computation would harmonize, as contended by Wieseler and others, with the hypothesis that Herod's death occurred in B.C. 4; for it will be seen from the table in a former page, that Herod probably died on the very day (March 27) on the evening of which the 1st of Nisan was to commence; and if the death of Herod at all preceded, even by a few hours, the 1st of Nisan, then this method of reckoning would not account for the 37 or 34 years attributed by Josephus to the reign of Herod.

3rdly. Another and less objectionable hypothesis is, that Josephus writing at Rome and for the readers of the Roman empire, had in his mind, when speaking of a prince's reign in round numbers, the commencement of the *Roman year*, known universally to begin from the 1st of January. Thus if Herod was made king by the Romans in November B.C. 40, Josephus might naturally antedate the first year of the reign as from the 1st of Jan.

B.C. 40, and consider the 1st of Jan. B.C. 39 as the commencement of the second year. So if Herod became king *de facto* by the death of Antigonus in Nov. B.C. 37, the first year of Herod's actual reign might be referred back to the 1st of Jan. B.C. 37, and the 1st of Jan. B.C. 36, might be taken as the second year. Assuming that Herod died at the end of March B.C. 4, the year from the 1st of Jan. B.C. 4 would thus be reckoned as another year, though only three months of it had elapsed; and in this way Herod would be said at the time of his death, in the spring of B.C. 4, to have reigned 37 *consular* years from his appointment by the Romans in B.C. 40, and 34 *consular* years from the death of Antigonus in B.C. 37.

We shall produce a succession of instances in which Josephus has computed the years in this manner.

1. The reign of Hyrcanus commenced, as before stated, on the day of the Fast, or 22nd of Sep. B.C. 63^d, and terminated three months before the Fast, or about Midsummer B.C. 40^e. Thus Hyrcanus did not actually reign 23 years complete, and yet Josephus attributes to him 24 years^f, that is, the consular year B.C. 63 was reckoned as one year, and the consular year B.C. 40 as another year.

2. The capture of Jerusalem at the Fast in B.C. 37, is said to have occurred at an interval of 27 years from the capture of Jerusalem at the Fast in B.C. 63^ε; that is, the space between the two events embraced 27 consulships, as reckoned from the 1st of Jan. in each year.

^d Ant. xiv. 4, 3. Bell. i. 7, 4; v. 9, 4.

^e Ant. xiv. 13, 10; xx. 10. Bell. i. 13, 9.

^f Ἡρῆς δὲ . . . ὁ Ὑρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι. Ant. xx. 10.

^ε Μετὰ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ. Ant. xiv. 16, 4.

3. The battle of Actium, which was on the 2nd of Sep. B.C. 31, is placed by Josephus in the 7th year of the reign of Herod, from the death of Antigonus, in Nov. B.C. 37^h. In fact Herod had not completed his 6th year, but the period from Nov. B.C. 37 to Sep. B.C. 31, included 7 successive consular years.

4. We read in Josephus, "Now in this year, being *the 13th of Herod*, the greatest calamities overtook the country¹." Of what year is the historian speaking? Of the consular year B.C. 25, as may be thus clearly shewn. Josephus proceeds to relate that a dreadful famine arose in *this year* from the failure of the crops, from the want of rain in the past Autumn and the present Spring; and that from the dearth arose plagues amongst the people; but that nevertheless the seed was sown as usual, in the hope of better success at the next harvest. So ended the first year of the famine. But in the *next year* there was a failure of the crops for the second time, (*μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀνείσης τῆς γῆς*. Ant. xv. 9, 1,) and Herod now became the subject of invective from the people, who, of course, attributed their distress to the want of foresight in their ruler. In this emergency Herod sent for corn into Egypt. The Romans were very jealous of the exportation of corn from this quarter to any country but Rome itself; but it happened fortunately that just at this juncture Petronius assumed the præfecture of Egypt; (*Πετρωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος εἰληφότος*. Ant. xv. 9, 2;) and Petronius was a personal friend

^h Ἐβδόμου ὄντος Ἡρώδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους. Ant. xv. 5, 2. κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβδομον. Bell. i. 19, 3.

¹ Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 1.

of Herod, so that the latter had no difficulty in obtaining leave from him to export corn into Judæa. Herod now regained the good will of his subjects by supplying their present necessities, and by furnishing the Syrians with seed, which the following year produced an abundant harvest. About the same time with these importations from Egypt, (περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνου, Ant. xv. 9, 3,) Ælius Gallus, whom Petronius had succeeded as governor of Egypt, made an expedition into Arabia by command of the emperor, and Herod sent him 500 auxiliaries. Here we have a clue to the exact period of which Josephus is speaking. Ælius Gallus made his campaign in Arabia, and Petronius took his place as governor of Egypt, in the year B.C. 24^k. This then was the year in which Herod, by favour of his friend Petronius, procured corn from Egypt; and if so, the preceding year, the first of the famine and the 13th of Herod, was the year B.C. 25. It follows that Josephus computed the first year of Herod from *the 1st of Jan.* B.C. 37, though Herod did not *actually* become king until the following November; for in this way only could the 13th year of Herod be made to comprise the harvest of B.C. 25, when the famine began.

5. Augustus visited Syria at Midsummer B.C. 20, and at this time it is said that the 17th year of the reign of Herod from the death of Antigonus in Nov. B.C. 37 was *past*, and consequently that the 18th year was current^l. In fact, Herod had not *completed* his 17th year, but Jo-

^k See Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*.

^l "Ἦδηδ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαιδεκάτου παρελθοντος ἔτους Καίσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

sephus evidently reckons by consular years, and 17 consulships had expired since the death of Antigonus.

6. The capture of Jerusalem, on the 8th of Gorpiaëus, or September, A.D. 70, is said to have occurred 107 years after the accession of Herod in Nov. B.C. 37^m, which would be correct on one hypothesis, and one only, viz., that Josephus meant consular years, and reckoned from every 1st of January, and that fragments of consular years were counted as whole years.

After these repeated instances of Josephus's computation by consular years, we can have no difficulty in concluding that Josephus, in speaking of the duration of Herod's reign, measured it by the number of consulships embraced within its compass. And then if Herod was king nominally in Nov. B.C. 40, and died in March B.C. 4, he would be said to have reigned 37 years; and if he became king actually in Nov. B.C. 37, and died in March B.C. 4, he would be said to have reigned 34 years.

The result of the foregoing discussion is, that the death of Herod the Great must be placed in the month of March B.C. 4; and having laid this foundation, we come next to the inquiry in what year and at what season of the year was the birth of Christ, which a little preceded the death of Herod.

The events that happened between the birth of Christ and the death of Herod are briefly these: the circumcision on the 8th day, the presentation in the temple on the 40th day from the birth, the visit of the magi, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocents. These occurrences demand an inter-

^m Χρόνος δὲ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπτὰ. Ant. xx. 10.

val of about six months, which would carry us back, as Herod died in March B.C. 4, to the month of September, B.C. 5. We can ascertain the exact time with some degree of precision as follows. The birth of Christ was six months later than that of John the Baptistⁿ, and we have therefore only to determine at what period happened the birth of the latter. This we can do from the circumstance that the conception of John was at the time when his father Zacharias was ministering in his turn according to the usual rota in the temple. The priests of the Jews, as is well known, were distributed into twenty-four courses, each course discharging the office for a week at a time, so that every course served twice in the year with a six months' intermission. The first course began on the first sabbath after the Feast of Tabernacles, (called perhaps from this the *πρῶτον σάββατον*), and again on the first sabbath after the Feast of the Passover, (hence possibly called the *σάββατον δευτεροπρῶτον*.) Zacharias was of the course of Abia, that is, the 8th course, which began its half-yearly ministrations on the 12th of Chisleu and the 17th of Sivan^o. In the year B.C. 6 the 12th of Chisleu was the 21st of Nov. and the 17th of Sivan was the 2nd of June^p. The conception of John must have been at the latter time, on the supposition that Christ was born about six months before the death of Herod, and then Christ would be born in September and John would be born six months before in March, and the concep-

ⁿ Ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἑκτῷ ἀπεστάλη κ.τ.λ. Luke i. 26. Καὶ οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ. Luke i. 36.

^o See Lightfoot.

^p See Greswell's Prolegomena.

tion of John would be nine months before that, or in June of the preceding year. Thus the birth of John would be about the 2nd of March B.C. 5, and the birth of Christ six months later, or about the 2nd of September B.C. 5. It may be added in confirmation of this hypothesis that our Saviour was born at a time when the shepherds and their flocks were still in the open fields^q, and the custom in Judæa was to turn out the cattle for the summer after the Passover, and to bring them back for the winter in the month of October^r.

^q Luke ii. 8.

^r Anger, p. 12.

CHAPTER II.

THE TIME OF COMMENCEMENT AND DURATION OF OUR SAVIOUR'S MINISTRY.

THE ministry of John the Baptist preceded that of Christ, and we shall therefore begin with the inquiry at what period John the Baptist first opened his mission. Fortunately upon this point we are not left to conjecture, as Luke, apparently considering the call of John an important epoch as being the first promulgation of the Christian revelation, has marked its commencement in the most solemn and emphatic manner. His words are, "Now in the *fifteenth year* of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod (Antipas) being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness*." The fifteenth year of Tiberius began on the 19th of Aug. A.D. 28, and therefore John entered upon his office sometime between the 19th of Aug. A.D. 28, and the 19th of Aug. A.D. 29, during which period, as stated by Luke, Pontius Pilate *was* procurator of Judæa,

* Luke iii. 1.

Herod Antipas *was* tetrarch of Galilee, and Herod Philip *was* tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Caiaphas, with Annas his father-in-law, *was* high priest.

One would suppose that here no door was open to controversy, and yet some chronologers, labouring under the impression that the mission of John in A.D. 28—29 cannot be reconciled with the statement of Luke that Jesus when He began, soon after John, was of about 30 years, (whereas Jesus, if born B.C. 5, would in A.D. 28—29 be about 33,) have endeavoured to overthrow the express testimony of Luke as to the fifteenth year of Tiberius by the assertion that the reign of Tiberius was computed by him not in the ordinary mode from the 19th of Aug. A.D. 14, the death of Augustus, but from some point of time two years earlier, in A.D. 12. They rely upon the passages in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Vell. Paternulus, which will be found in the note[†], but which, when taken together, shew only that in A.D. 12 large powers were conferred on Tiberius, but not that he was then emperor jointly with Augustus, or that his reign was ever thought to commence from that period.

Other chronologers, as Burton, admit that the fifteenth year of Tiberius must begin in A.D. 14, but then they maintain that instead of being computed from the 19th

[†] Nero solus e privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribunicie potestatis adsumitur. Tac. Ann. i. 3. Ac non multo post lege per consules lata ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. Suet. Tib. 21. Senatus populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus, ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est; etenim absurdum erat non esse sub illo quæ ab illo vindicabantur, et qui ad opera ferendam primus erat, ad vindicandum honorem non judicari parem. Vell. Pat. ii. 121.

of Aug. of that year it must be referred back to the first of January of the same year; for as the Romans reckoned their year from the first of January to the first of January, the whole year within these limits was called the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

To these hypotheses a satisfactory answer can be given, viz., that the reign of Tiberius as beginning from the 19th of Aug., A.D. 14, was as well known a date in the time of Luke as the reign of Queen Victoria in our own day, and that no single case can be produced in which the years of Tiberius were reckoned in any other manner. It would be needless to adduce all the instances, but we shall select a few from the historians of greatest credit.

Tacitus opens the fourth book of his Annals with these words, "C. Asinius and C. Antistius being consuls it was the ninth year of Tiberius." Thus he makes the 1st of Jan. A.D. 23, (the year of this consulship,) coincide with the *ninth* year of Tiberius, which could only be the case on the assumption that the ninth year commenced on the 19th of Aug. A.D. 22, and ended, not on the 31st of Dec. A.D. 22, but on the 19th of Aug. A.D. 23. So Pliny the Elder refers the same consulship to the same year of Tiberius: "In the 9th year of the reign of Tiberius, in the consulship of C. Asinius Pollio and C. Antistius Vetus^x." That is, the consulship of Asinius Pollio and Antistius Vetus, reckoned from the 1st of Jan. A.D. 23, fell in the ninth year of Tiberius up to

^x C. Asinio, C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberius annus erat.

^{*} Tiberii domum principatus novo anno. . . . C. Asinio Pollione, C. Antistio Vetere consulibus. Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 8.

the 19th of Aug. A.D. 23, when the tenth year would commence. Dion Cassius again reckons in the same way, for in speaking of the year A.D. 24, he mentions, that in the course of it (viz. on the 19th of Aug.) “ten years of the reign of Tiberius expired^γ.” There can be no higher authority upon this subject than that of Josephus, a Jew, and a contemporary of Luke. And evidently Josephus computes the reign of Tiberius from the 19th of Aug. A.D. 14; for he assigns the death of Herod Philip in A.D. 34, to the 20th year of Tiberius, which the year A.D. 34 was up to the 19th of Aug. of that year^z. And again, he computes the reign of Tiberius at 22 years, 5 months, and 3 days^a; or in another place, at 22 years, 6 months, and 3 days^b; and as the death of Tiberius occurred on the 16th of March A.D. 37, Josephus of course refers the commencement of the reign to the 19th of Aug. A.D. 14.

There are two coins of Antioch, the domicile, if not the native place of Luke, which may be thought to bear upon this question. One has the head of Tiberius, with the inscription, ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΜ. i. e. “Cæsar Augustus, the 43rd year,” i. e. of the Actian era, commencing from the 2nd of Sep., B.C. 31, and therefore struck in A.D. 12—13. The title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ or Augustus, here applied to Tiberius, confirms the statement of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Paterculus, that Tiberius, so early as A.D. 12,

^γ Διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ. Dion. lvii. 24.

^z Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος (Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελφὸς) τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον εἰκοστῶ μὲν ἐνιαυτῶ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος· καὶ τοῦ Βαταναίων ἔθνους πρὸς αὐταῖς. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 6.

^a Ant. xviii. 6, 10.

^b Bell. ii. 9, 5.

was invested with large powers. On the other hand we have another coin of Antioch, with the head of Tiberius, and the letter A, and the date of the Actian era, EM or 45, equivalent to A.D. 14—15. Here the letter A denotes the *first* year of the reign of Tiberius, as other coins with the Actian date ZM or 47, equivalent to A.D. 16—17, have the letter Γ, denoting the third year of his reign^c.

We shall not multiply examples to prove what we think must be plain, that as in the time of Luke the reign of Tiberius was a well-known date, computed from Aug. the 19th, A.D. 14, the Evangelist, in fixing the epoch of the commencement of John's ministry in the most formal manner, could not possibly have used a different and unheard-of mode of reckoning without some notice to the reader.

We shall assume, therefore, that John began to raise his voice in the wilderness some time between Aug. the 19th, A.D. 28, and Aug. the 19th, A.D. 29. It remains for us to ascertain at what precise period of this fifteenth year of Tiberius his ministry commenced, and how soon afterwards it was followed by the preaching of our Lord. After much hesitation upon the subject we think that John probably opened his mission about the Passover, or the middle of April, A.D. 29; and that as Christ was born six months later than John, so Christ succeeded John in the ministry at about the same interval of time, viz. in the month of October of the same year. The correctness of these dates will mainly depend on the harmony of the subsequent chronology;

^c See Eckhel.

but we shall here adduce two passages from the New Testament which seem to furnish a confirmation of these hypotheses. We must premise that if John began at the Passover A.D. 29, and Christ was crucified (as we shall see was the case) at the Passover A.D. 33, the doctrine of repentance promulgated by John would have been preached to the Jews up to the time of our Lord's death for *four years complete*; and if Jesus began his ministry in October A.D. 29, the duration of it up to the Passover A.D. 33, would be just *three years and six months*.

The first of the passages alluded to is contained in the parable, recorded by St. Luke, of the fig-tree, the type of Jerusalem. God is represented as saying, "Behold, *these three years* I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree and find none: cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground^c?" The vine-dresser (who must be understood to be Christ Himself) answers, "Lord, let it alone *this year also*, till I shall dig about it, and dung it: and if it bear fruit, well: and if not, then *after that* Thou shalt cut it down^d." This parable was delivered in the last year of Christ's ministry, and during which Christ did more particularly dig about the fig-tree, by attending all the great feasts at Jerusalem, which previously from circumstances He had been generally obliged to forego. We have then four years here distinctly mentioned, during which the Jews, from the preaching of John and of Christ, ought to have borne fruits of repentance; and if we carry back these four years, from the Passover A.D. 33, which was the close, we arrive at the Passover A.D. 29 as the commencement. It was, therefore, at the latter period,

^c Luke xiii. 7.

^d Luke xiii. 8, 9.

that John first raised his warning voice, "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance^e." "Now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire^f."

The other passage is also in St. Luke, and occurs during our Saviour's visit to His own city Nazareth. They would not receive Him; and Christ tells them that He was not sent to all, but only to a few; and He illustrates His own mission by that of Elias, who in the time of the famine was commissioned only to relieve the poor widow of Sarepta. But the manner in which Christ expresses Himself is remarkable; "Many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, *when the heaven was shut up three years and six months*, when great famine was throughout all the land; but unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow^g." Here it is difficult to say why such stress should have been laid upon the *three years and six months*, unless the mission of Elias during that time were a type of the period of our Lord's own ministry. According to our hypothesis, if Christ began in October A.D. 29, He did bring relief to Israel for three years and six months, viz., until the Passover A.D. 33; and if the words of our Saviour have a reference to this circumstance, they are full of meaning.

We shall therefore start upon the basis that Jesus was baptized by John in the month of October A.D. 29. Jesus after His baptism returned into the wilderness and

^e Matt. iii. 8.

^f Matt. iii. 10.

^g Luke iv. 25.

was tempted forty days, and then returned to John at Bethabara, when John seeing Him coming, gave his testimony, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world^h." "And John bare record, saying, *I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon Himⁱ.*" This therefore would take place in the month of November.

We have here in the narrative of John a note of time to which we must advert. The very day before the arrival of Jesus an embassy from the Sanhedrim consisting of Pharisees had come to John to inquire into his pretensions as the Messiah. The Pharisees it will be remembered were the religious sect of the Jews, and devoted themselves to the study of the Scriptures with the glosses and traditions, and they were strongly impressed with the idea at this time, as appears from Josephus, that the Messiah was about to declare Himself^k. Pretenders to the character had not unfrequently stepped forth, and had again sunk into the insignificance from which they had sprung. At last came John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, and when after a time, instead of losing ground as previous impostors had done, he was notoriously advancing, so that multitudes from the surrounding country flocked to his baptism, and "all men mused in their hearts whether he were the *Christ* or not^l," the Pharisees, as the conservators of the Jewish religion, assembled the Sanhedrim upon so serious a matter, and procured the dispatch of a commission composed of Priests and Levites of the Pharisaic sect^m

^h John i. 29.

^l Luke iii. 15.

ⁱ John i. 32.

^k Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 4.

^m John i. 19, 24.

to Bethabara to investigate the claims of the Baptist. All this agrees very well with the dates we have supposed, for if John began his ministry in April A.D. 29, and Christ returned to Bethabara in November, there was an interval of seven months, during which John might easily have attracted converts in sufficient numbers to excite attention and jealousy from the authorities at Jerusalem.

After a few intervening days, during which Philip was called to be a disciple, Jesus arrived at Cana in Galilee^o, where apparently His mother Mary (Joseph being dead) and his brethren were then residing. Here was a marriage feast, probably of some relative, and Mary and Jesus, and from courtesy His disciples also, (not many perhaps at that period,) were invited. On this occasion Jesus performed His first miracle by changing the water into wine. It would seem that this was also the only miracle performed at this time in Galilee, "His hour not being yet come^p," for when in the following year He healed the nobleman's son at Capernaum, John surprises us by the remark that it was only His *second* miracle in Galilee^q.

Jesus remained at Cana till the close of the year A.D. 29, and during the early part of the following year A.D. 30, and then a short time before the Passover went down with His mother and brethren to Capernaum. This was after some interval from His arrival at Cana, for John prefaces the journey to Capernaum with the words "After this," (*μετὰ τοῦτο^r*), equivalent to the

^o John ii. 1.

^q John iv. 54.

^p John ii. 4.

^r John ii. 12.

expression "After these things," (*μετὰ ταῦτα*), in other places^a, and indicating a break in the narrative. We may remark by the way that the Gospel of St. John is clearly fragmentary, and not intended to be a full history of our Saviour's ministry. It is supplementary only to the other Gospels, as indeed appears from a passage already referred to, "And John bare record, saying, *I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon Him;*" for reference is here made to the descent of the Spirit upon Christ at His baptism, a circumstance not found in St. John at all, but only in the Gospel of St. Luke^t.

The sojourn of Jesus at Capernaum was brief, "Not many days," (*οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*^u.) The Passover was nigh, and Jesus and His disciples went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast, which this year, A.D. 30, was March the 22nd.^x

At Jerusalem Jesus opened His public ministry by clearing the temple of the cattle-dealers and money-changers and other defilements; and the indignation of the Jews at this proceeding furnishes us with a chronological premiss of some importance. They asked Him for a sign or miracle in justification. Jesus said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." They answered, "*Forty and six years has this temple (ὁ ναὸς οὗτος) been building, and wilt Thou rear it up in three days?*"^y To understand this we must bear in mind

^a John v. 1; vi. 1; iii. 22.

^t Luke iii. 21.

^u John ii. 12.

^x καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, John ii. 12; and that His disciples went with Him, see v. 17, 22.

^y Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος. John ii. 20.

that Herod the Great had begun the restoration of the temple, and that the fabric was not fully completed until the year which preceded the Jewish war, viz. A.D. 65^r. At the time when these words were spoken 46 years had elapsed since the commencement, and if we can ascertain in what year Herod first began the structure we shall be able to deduce the year of the Passover when the expression was used.

The circumstances under which Herod undertook to rebuild the temple were these. In the latter part of the year B.C. 20, Augustus arrived at Antioch, and Herod shortly afterwards visited him there and established himself highly in the emperor's favour^a. Before winter set in Augustus sailed to Samos^b, and Herod returned to Jerusalem; and in order to conciliate the Jews, remitted to them one third of their taxes^c. He next erected a temple to Augustus in the neighbourhood of Paneas, afterwards Cæsarea Philippi^d. He then for the first time unfolded to his countrymen the grand design of taking down the temple of God and restoring it on a much more magnificent scale. What induced him to undertake so vast a work was, as we learn from Josephus, the distinguished favour in which he now stood with the Romans^e; so that the conception was certainly posterior to the meeting of Herod with Augustus at Antioch in A.D. 20. In the Antiquities Josephus refers the undertaking to the nine-

^a Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 7.

^a Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

^b Dion, liv. 9.

^c Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 4.

^d Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

^e *Ἐνθεν ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προὔκοψεν, εἰς μείζον δὲ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλεόν τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτειεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν.* Jos. Bell. i. 20, 4. *Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, φίλοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας οἱ πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι.* Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 1.

teenth year of Herod's reign, or B.C. 19^f; and in the Wars the expression is Πεντεκαιδέκατῳ γοῦν ἔτει^g, clearly a mistake, and probably miswritten for another word much resembling it, viz. ἔννεακαιδέκατῳ, or with the aspirate HENNEAKAIΔΕΚΑΤΩ, i. e. the nineteenth year, as stated in the Antiquities. Be this as it may, Josephus is here speaking of the laying the foundations, and not the commencement of the holy edifice itself, or ναὸς as opposed to the platform on which it stood. Herod had first of all some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the people, who were naturally apprehensive that the structure might be taken down and never restored at all. At last it was agreed that Herod should not remove a stone of the temple until all should be in readiness for the erection of the new fabric. Herod now employed himself in collecting the most costly materials for the work from various quarters, and a thousand wagons were made ready for the transport. He also procured 10,000 skilful artisans for laying the foundations and constructing the cloisters; but as to the ναὸς or temple itself, it could only be built by the priests, and for this purpose 1,000 priests were apprenticed as masons and carpenters to learn the necessary handicrafts^h. As the temple was remarkable for its exquisite workmanship, these priests must have been occupied some time in learning their trades. Now we may fairly allow two years for the full preparations

^f Ὀκτωκαιδέκατου τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ. Ant. xv. 11, 1; where γεγονότος seems equivalent to παρελθόντος in Ant. xv. 10, 3; viz. "being passed."

^g Jos. Bell. i. 21, 1.

^h Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 1, 2.

of the materials, the completion of the foundations and cloisters, and for the training of the priests. If we suppose that Herod first entered upon his design about the Passover of B.C. 19 (six months after his intimacy with Augustus at Antioch), the temple itself or *ναὸς* would be commenced about the Passover of B.C. 17. And if we reckon forward 46 years from this date it will bring us to the Passover of A.D. 30. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus, in speaking of the building of the *ναὸς* or temple itself as distinct from the foundations and cloisters, uses the expression, *ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς, &c.*ⁱ, corresponding word for word with the language of the Evangelist, *Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος.* St. John and Josephus are manifestly speaking of the same subject-matter.

Jesus then went up to Jerusalem at the Passover A.D. 30, but at the conclusion of the feast He did not return to Galilee, but intended, if the Jews would suffer Him, to continue the prosecution of His public ministry at the capital of the nation. We are expressly informed that He worked wonderful miracles at Jerusalem, and that many believed on Him^k. The large majority however were offended at Him, and plotted against His life, so that while He still remained at Jerusalem He was obliged to withdraw into privacy^l. And it was during this seclusion that Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrim, came to Him *by night* for fear of the Jews^m.

Not long after, Jesus was apparently compelled by the machinations of His enemies to quit Jerusalem, but He

ⁱ Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 3.

^l John ii. 24.

^k John ii. 23.

^m John iii. 1.

retired no farther than was necessary, and opened His ministry in some part of Judæaⁿ, perhaps the neighbourhood of Ephraim, which was again visited by Him at a later period°. Here He continued preaching and making converts for some time, (καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβε, John iii. 22,) say for seven or eight months. That His sojourn there was of some duration is evident, from the manner in which John's disciples were affected by it. John at this time was baptizing at Ænon near Salim, for the convenience of the water there^p, the summer droughts still continuing and the November rains not having yet commenced. John's disciples therefore came to the Baptist, and said, "Rabbi, *He that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bearest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to Him*^q." Jesus therefore had been long enough at Ephraim to have collected a multitude of converts, and yet not so long but that the disciples of John could refer to the Baptist's testimony at Bethabara as a recent event. This agrees with the foregoing dates, for Jesus, after His baptism and temptation, had returned to John at Bethabara in November, A.D. 29, and He was now baptizing in Judæa in the Summer or Autumn of the following year, A.D. 30.

When Jesus had exercised His ministry for seven months in Judæa, He withdrew from thence into Galilee by way of Sychar, a city on the road to Galilee through Samaria. At noon He was weary, and sat upon the well near the city, while His disciples went to purchase provisions in Sychar itself. During their absence, a woman of Sychar (and therefore of Samaria, or a Samaritan,

ⁿ John iii. 1.

^o John xi. 54.

^p John iii. 23.

^q John iii. 26.

ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας, John iv. 7,) came to the well, and the discourse of Jesus which followed, and must be familiar to the reader, made such an impression on her that she left her pitcher and ran to the city, and published everywhere that she had found the Messiah. Upon this a multitude poured forth from the city and were hastening to Jesus (ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν, John iv. 30). As they were on the way (ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ, John iv. 31) the disciples returned, and Jesus seeing the crowd approaching from the city, pointed them out to His disciples and remarked how rapidly the harvest had grown up from the word that He had only just before sown: "Say not ye, There are *yet* four months, and then cometh the harvest? behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest^r." Presently the people of Sychar arrived (ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν, John iv. 40) and intreated Him to remain with them, which He did for two days. Now it will be observed that the expression is not general, "Say not ye there *are* four months, (viz., from seed-time,) and then cometh the harvest," but "Say not ye, there are *yet* (ἔτι) four months, and then cometh the harvest;" so that at the time when this was spoken there was an interval of four months before the usual season of gathering in the crops. In Judæa the harvest was ready in March, about the time of the Passover. Jesus therefore was at Sychar four months before, or about November A.D. 30. This receives some confirmation from the circumstance that Jesus was journeying at *mid-day*, which at the height of summer would be at least unusual.

John assigns as the reason for this retreat of Jesus

^r John iv. 35.

into Galilee, that the Pharisees, who had forced Him to retire from Jerusalem, were again jealous of His success, and that Jesus withdrew to avoid their conspiracies: "when the Lord knew how *the Pharisees had heard* that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John, He left Judæa, and departed again into Galilee¹." But in Matthew we read, "Now when Jesus had heard (*ἀκούσας*) that *John was cast into prison*, He departed into Galilee²." Perhaps the two causes were connected together. John was favoured by Herod Antipas himself, and would never have been cast into prison had it not been for the machinations of others. It is likely that the Pharisees, from religious jealousy, co-operated with Herodias, the personal enemy of John, in working his ruin. Unless we understand something of this kind, the passage in St. Matthew is scarcely intelligible, for the imprisonment of John by Herod would by itself be anything but a reason for Christ retiring into the jurisdiction of Herod, but if Herod himself was friendly to John, and John's imprisonment was brought about, at least in part, by the intrigues of the Pharisees, we perceive at once why Jesus should avoid the jurisdiction of the hostile Pharisees and seek shelter in the tetrarchy of Herod.

Whatever may have been the immediate occasion of Jesus's departure into Galilee, it is clear that the event was contemporaneous or nearly so with the imprisonment of John; for not only Matthew, but also Mark³ connects the commencement of Christ's ministry in Galilee with the preceding imprisonment of the Baptist. As the persecution of John arose, at least in part, from the spite against him of Herodias, formerly

¹ John iv. 1, 3.

² Matt. iv. 12.

³ Mark i. 14.

the wife of Philip (not the tetrarch) and now of Herod Antipas, and whose second marriage had been rebuked by John, it will be necessary to shew that Herod Antipas at this time (the end of A.D. 30) was living with Herodias, and that his marriage to her was still a recent event.

The circumstances were as follows. Antipas (called by our Saviour "that fox,") was a crafty monarch, and had contrived by fawning flatteries, and the meanest artifices, to insinuate himself into the favour of the Emperor Tiberius. In A.D. 29 died Livia, or Julia, the wife of Augustus, and mother of Tiberius⁷. Caligula, then a youth, delivered her funeral oration², and she was interred in the tomb of Augustus, and at the same time the ladies of Rome were decreed to wear mourning for a whole year^a. Addresses of condolence waited on the emperor from all quarters, and Antipas, amongst others, made a voyage to Rome for the purpose. Livia, or Julia, had held some valuable possessions in Judæa, viz., Jamnia, and the palm-groves of Phasaelis^b; and perhaps the artful tetrarch may have cherished the hope of obtaining a grant of them from the emperor, his patron, for Herod had built two cities in honour of the imperial family, Tiberias, after the name of the emperor, and Julias, after the name of Livia herself^c. Antipas, on his way from Galilee to the sea-side, paid a visit to his brother Philip, when he became enamoured of Philip's wife Herodias. Antipas had been married for some years to a daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and as Philip had a daughter Salome by Herodias, her marriage to a brother of Philip

⁷ Tac. Ann. v. 1.

² Ibid.

^a Dion, lviii. 2.

^b Jos. Bell. ii. 9, 1.

^c Ant. xviii. 2, 1, 3. Bell. ii. 9, 1.

would be a most heinous infraction of the Jewish law. The unprincipled Antipas, however, cast aside all scruples, and Herodias was induced to enter into a compact with him, that on his return from Rome she should elope from Philip and become the wife of Antipas. This of course would embroil Antipas with the king of Petra; and possibly now, in anticipation of such a result, Antipas conceived the idea of procuring from Tiberius the cession of the castle of Machærus, the key of Herod's kingdom, on the side of Petra, but which at that time was tributary to Aretas^d. Antipas sailed to Rome in A.D. 29, and was probably detained there till after the winter, during which navigation ceased, and did not start for Judæa until the spring of the following year A.D. 30. It was during this sojourn at Rome that Antipas was on such a footing of intimacy with Sejanus, whose power, by the death of Livia, the only check to it, had become unbounded, that Agrippa, who apparently was himself also at Rome at this time, and privy to all Antipas's proceedings, afterwards accused him of having actually entered into a conspiracy with Sejanus against the emperor^e. Antipas no doubt, from his general character, was very assiduous in his attentions to Sejanus as the court favourite, and perhaps through his means obtained, not indeed all he had come for, but one important point, viz., the cession of the castle of Machærus. At least, we find this fortress shortly afterwards in the possession of Antipas, and cannot account for the transfer of it to him from Aretas in any more plausible way^f. Antipas

^d Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 1.

^e Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2.

^f Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 2.

then would return to Judæa about the Midsummer of A.D. 30, and would immediately proceed to carry out his compact with Herodias. The wounded feelings of his brother Philip were of course utterly disregarded by the heartless tetrarch, and Antipas's own wife had saved him the trouble of a divorce, as during his absence she had discovered the plot against her, and had taken refuge with her father at Petra. Antipas then would consummate his marriage with Herodias shortly after the Midsummer of A.D. 30; and as soon as publicity was given to the fact, John would openly rebuke him for this gross breach of morality and open violation of the Jewish law. Antipas himself had a respect for the Baptist, and might have overlooked the affront, but the malice of Herodias, coupled with the influence of the Pharisees on religious grounds, at length prevailed, and an order was issued for John's apprehension. John, like our Saviour, was *betrayed*. Perhaps his virtuous conduct and character as a prophet had so established him in the favour of the people, that Antipas did not dare to arrest him publicly, but waited for some opportunity of laying hold of him by stealth. John, who may have escaped his pursuers for some time, was at length delivered by treachery into their hands, and was conveyed to the castle of Machærus^g. The historical facts, therefore, attending the imprisonment of John, warrant us in placing it as we have done, about the time of our Saviour's departure from Judæa into Galilee, viz., on November the 9th, A.D. 30.

We shall here notice an objection that has been, and may again be urged, against this date of John's impri-

^g Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 2.

sonment. It is said that Drusus, the son of Tiberius, died in A.D. 23^b, and that Agrippa was obliged shortly afterwards to leave Rome, as Tiberius, from grief at his son's loss, could not endure the sight of Agrippa, the friend of Drususⁱ; and that Agrippa, therefore, in A.D. 23, or A.D. 24 at the latest, sailed to Judæa, and resided at Malatha, and that his sister Herodias, as expressly mentioned by Josephus, was then living with Herod the tetrarch, and exerted her influence with him to procure some relief for Agrippa^k. If so, it is argued, the imprisonment of John, which arose from his rebuke of Herod's marriage with Herodias, must have followed soon after, and cannot be placed so late as A.D. 30. Now this objection (as the German critics have well pointed out, and in this have done great service) is founded upon a mistake of the historical facts. True, Drusus died in A.D. 23, but so far was Tiberius from being overcome with sorrow upon the occasion, that he affected the utmost indifference at it, and even made a jest of it. When the Ilians or Trojans, for instance, offered their condolence for the loss of Drusus, the emperor begged to condole with them in return for the death of Hector^l. Agrippa then could not

^b Tac. Ann. iv. 7—12. Dion, lvii. 22.

ⁱ Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 1.

^k Ἡρώδη τῷ Τετραρρχῇ συνοικοῦσαν. Ant. xviii. 6, 2.

^l Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum, neque adoptivum Germanicum patriâ caritate amavit, alterius vitiiis offensus. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit, justitio longiore inhibito. Quin et Iliensium legatis paullo serius consolantibus "Se quoque respondit vicem eorum dolere quod egregium civem Hectorem amisissent." Suet. Tib. 52. Tiberius per omnes validitudo ejus dies, nullo metu, an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto, necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est. Tac. Ann. iv. 8; see iv. 13; and Senec. consol. ad Marciam 15.

have been obliged to quit Rome at this time, as it would have been a direct contradiction to the emperor's other demeanour. Indeed, we have reason to believe that Agrippa was still sojourning at Rome in A.D. 29, when Antipas was there. But it was in A.D. 31, and not before, that the necessity for Agrippa's departure arose, under the following circumstances. Sejanus was put to death Oct. the 18th, A.D. 31; and a few days after, from an examination of his wife, Apicata, it came to light, for the first time, that Drusus in A.D. 23 had not died, as before supposed, from his own excesses, but that he had been poisoned by Sejanus, to make room for that courtier's own ambitious views^m. Now it was that Tiberius, finding his son to have been the victim, not of debauchery, but of conspiracy, gave way to the deepest grief for his loss, and displayed a spirit of fretfulness and exasperation against all about himⁿ. It was at this juncture that Agrippa, as reviving the memory of Drusus, was banished from the emperor's presence, and sailed to Judæa. He would on this supposition reach Malatha, in Idumæa, either at the close of A.D. 31, or the beginning of A.D. 32; and in either case he would find his sister Herodias living with Antipas, as the marriage between them had been consummated, as we have seen, about the Midsummer of A.D. 30.

To proceed with our Saviour's ministry in chronological order, we read that after two days' abode at

^m Dion, lviii. 11.

ⁿ Auxit intenditque sævitiam, exacerbatus indicio de morte filii sui Drusi, quem quum morbo et intemperantia periisse existimaret, ut tandem veneno interemptum fraude Livillæ uxoris atque Sejani cognovit, neque tormentis neque supplicio cujusque pepercit. Suet. Tib. 62.

Sychar, He took His way towards Galilee, and passing by His own city, Nazareth, which lay on or near His road, (for a prophet is not without honour save in his own country,) He arrived at Cana°. This closed His public ministry in Judæa, after He had preached there with little effect for about eight months. The Pharisees could not admit Him to be the Messiah, and their influence in that province was so great, that Christ could no longer safely remain there, but was compelled to seek an asylum in the tetrarchy of Antipas. From this period Jesus visited Jerusalem only at the public festivals, and was often absent even from them. It is remarkable that Christ's ministry in Judæa is recorded by St. John only, while the other evangelists confine themselves to His ministry in Galilee. It would seem that John, though we know not under what circumstances, possessed some means of information as to the transactions in Judæa beyond the other evangelists. It corroborates this view, that at the last Passover, when Jesus was led into the house of Caiaphas, John, as personally known to the high-priest, was admitted also, and he afterwards exerted his interest with the domestics to bring in Peter, who had followed our Saviour to the door, but had been excluded^p.

We now enter upon our Lord's ministry in Galilee, the subject of the three first Gospels. It is not our intention to harmonize the several narratives by following the occurrences in detail, but to notice only such striking features as may serve to illustrate the chronology, and in doing so we shall follow the arrangement of Mark

° John iv. 46.

^p John xviii. 15.

and Luke (who agree together), and consider the Gospel of St. Matthew as a collection of the memorable sayings and doings of our Lord, without reference (more particularly in the earlier part of the history) to the regular sequence of events. Even the notices of time that do occasionally appear in St. Matthew, as "In those days," "In that day," "Then," &c. (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, τότε, &c.*) will be found upon examination to be mere connectives. Thus the expression "In those days," (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,*) Matt. iii. 1, is applied to the preaching of John the Baptist, whereas the circumstance immediately preceding was the return of Joseph and Mary with the child Jesus from Egypt 32 years before.

Jesus then arrived at Cana in Galilee in Nov. A.D. 30, about eight months after His presence at Jerusalem, at the Passover, in the preceding March. That He reached Cana at least before the recurrence of the next Passover, is implied by the account of His reception at Cana, for "the Galileans received Him, having seen all the things that He did at Jerusalem *at the feast*^a;" that is, at the last Passover which had been attended by the Galileans.

At Cana, Jesus healed the son of the nobleman of Capernaum,—His *second* miracle at Galilee^r; and then removed to Capernaum, where He both preached^s and performed miracles^t. Capernaum thenceforth was His ordinary abode, and this perhaps out of regard to His safety. The Pharisees had driven Him from Jerusalem,

^a Ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι πάντα ἑωρακότες ἃ ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ. John iv. 45.

^r The miracle at Cana at the marriage feast stood by itself, and was *πάρρηγόν τι*, His hour for ministering in Galilee not being yet fully come.

^s Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 14.

^t Luke iv. 23.

and again from Judæa, and if Herod Antipas should be induced by them to persecute Jesus, as might be expected from his arrest of John the Baptist, Capernaum lay on the lake of Galilee, and Jesus (more particularly as many of His disciples were fishermen) could easily take ship and cross over to the dominions of Herod Philip.

From Capernaum Jesus made His first circuit in Galilee, Luke iv. 15, Mark i. 14, and in the course of it Peter and Andrew were called, Mark i. 16, Matt. iv. 18, and Jesus visited His own city of Nazareth, Luke iv. 16. He completed this His first circuit either at the close of the year A.D. 30, or early in the following year, A.D. 31, Mark i. 21, Luke iv. 31. On His return to Capernaum, He cured a demoniac on the Sabbath day, but which at the time elicited only astonishment, without any observation as to the breach of the Sabbath, Mark i. 23, Luke iv. 33.

In A.D. 31 Jesus made a second circuit through the whole of Galilee, *εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*, Mark i. 39, Luke iv. 44, in the course of which occurred the miracle of the draught of fishes, Luke v. 1, and the sermon on the mount, Matt. v. 1, and the cure of the leper "in one of the cities," (*ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων*,) Luke v. 12, Matt. viii. 1, which last miracle, from the noise it made, obliged Him to withdraw from places teeming with population. "He was without in desert places," (*ἔξω ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ᾗν*,) Mark i. 45, Luke v. 16. After an absence of some time He returned to Capernaum, (*καὶ πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν*,) Mark ii. 1.

Shortly after, Jesus commenced His third circuit in Galilee, in the course of which Matthew was called, Mark i. 14, Matt. ix. 9, and Jesus and His disciples passed

through the corn-fields "on the second-first Sabbath," (*ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*.) Luke vi. Here we have intimation of another Passover, both distinct from that in which Jesus had visited Jerusalem when He discoursed with Nicodemus, (for John Baptist was then at liberty, whereas he was now in prison,) and also distinct from the two other Passovers which will be mentioned hereafter, so that altogether we have clearly and indisputably four successive Passovers in the course of our Saviour's ministry.

The exact meaning of the word *δευτεροπρώτῳ* has been much disputed^u. But, whatever may be the real

^u Some of the best interpretations are the following:—1. The Jewish civil year commencing in autumn, and the ecclesiastical year in the spring, the first Sabbath of the civil year was called the *πρώτον σάββατον*, and the first Sabbath of the ecclesiastical year, which commenced a fortnight before the Passover, was called the *δευτεροπρώτον σάββατον*, or second-first Sabbath. 2. The Jews measured their time by weeks of years, and the first Sabbath of the first year of the seven might be called emphatically the *πρώτον σάββατον*, or first Sabbath, and the 1st Sabbath of the 2nd year might be known as the *δευτεροπρώτον σάββατον*, or second-first Sabbath; but this interpretation, as the sabbatic year was A.D. 27, would place the *δευτεροπρώτον σάββατον*, or first Sabbath of the 2nd year, in A.D. 29, which could not be reconciled with the other dates of our Saviour's life. 3. The 2nd day of the Passover was, as St. John calls it, a high day, John xix. 31, being that from which the Jews reckoned the 50 days terminated by the Pentecost, and the *first* Sabbath after this *second* day of the Passover might be called the *δευτεροπρώτον σάββατον*, or second-first Sabbath, but this meaning also is from conjecture. 4. The Jews divided their priests into 24 courses, and each course served for a week at a time, so that the ministration in the temple passed through each of the courses twice a-year, with a six months' interval. (See Lightfoot.) The first course began on the first Sabbath after the feast of Tabernacles, designated from this emphatically as the first Sabbath; and again the first course assumed office when its turn came round at the expiration of six months, on the first Sabbath after the feast of the Passover, known in common parlance as the *δευτεροπρώτον*, or second-first Sabbath. The last interpretation is new, but perhaps as probable as any.

meaning of the expression, all the interpretations necessarily concur in this, that the Sabbath intended was about the time of a Passover, for as the disciples rubbed the ears of corn in their hands, it was manifestly the season of harvest, which began at the Passover. We should even surmise, though it is not so stated by the three first evangelists, that Jesus had this year, before the incident of passing through the corn-fields, actually attended the Passover at Jerusalem, and that this Passover of A.D. 31, is the feast alluded to by St. John, when our Saviour wrought the cure of the cripple at the pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath day^x, at which the Jews were so offended, that they sought to take His life. This would explain a circumstance not otherwise very intelligible, viz., that when Jesus had, on returning from His first circuit, cured the demoniac at Capernaum on the *Sabbath*, there were no murmurs at the breach of the law; but now that the disciples merely rubbed the ears of corn on the Sabbath, the Pharisees pretended to be horror-struck at the impiety. If during the interval our Lord had attended the Passover at Jerusalem, and healed the cripple at the pool of Bethesda on a Sabbath day, which had so exasperated the Pharisees that they conspired against His life, we can readily understand how the Pharisees might have sent their emissaries into Galilee to watch the steps of our Lord as a Sabbath-breaker, for the purpose of bringing an accusation against Him before the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem.

To proceed, Jesus having put the Pharisees to silence

^x Μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John v. 1.

in the corn-fields, afterwards, on another Sabbath, again wrought a miracle in the cure of a man with a withered hand. The Pharisees upon this formed a cabal with the Herodians to take His life, Mark iii. 6, when Jesus, to escape from their plots, retired to the sea-side, (*ὁδὲ Ἰησοῦς γνοὺς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν,*) Matt. xii. 15, Mark iii. 7. After this, Jesus having passed the previous night in prayer, Luke vi. 12, ordained the twelve apostles, Luke vi. 14, Mark iii. 13, and delivered to them a charge, Luke vi. 20, a discourse resembling, but not to be confounded with, the sermon on the mount, which had been intended for the multitude generally. At the conclusion Jesus entered Capernaum, and so closed His third circuit, Luke vii. 1.

The following day, (*τῇ ἐξῆς,*) Luke vii. 11, Jesus (attended with the twelve apostles, Luke viii. 2,) commenced His fourth circuit and visited Nain; and now John the Baptist, who was still living, sent two of His disciples to Jesus for information, Luke vii. 18. Jesus then made a progress through the cities and villages of Galilee in order, (*καθεξῆς κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κόμην,* Luke viii. 1,) and again returned to Capernaum, Mark iii. 20.

Jesus at this time taught the people by the sea-side from a boat, Matt. xiii. 1, Mark iv. 1, Luke viii. 4; and the same evening, after dark, being oppressed by the crowd, (*ιδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πολλοὺς ὄχλους περὶ αὐτὸν,* Matt. viii. 18, He entered on a fifth circuit, and crossed the sea to Gadara, Mark iv. 35; see Luke viii. 26. Shortly afterwards He returned to Capernaum, Matt. ix. 1; see Mark v. 21, Luke viii. 40; and here we may close the year A.D. 31, though the exact point where

one year ends and the other begins is of course in part conjectural.

In A.D. 32 Jesus made a sixth circuit, and in the course of it again visited Nazareth, Mark vi. 1, Matt. xiii. 54, and the neighbouring villages, Mark vi. 6, and traversed all Galilee, Matt. ix. 35. During His progress He sent the twelve apostles, two and two, to preach in Galilee, Matt. x. 1, Mark vi. 7, Luke ix. 1, which they did accordingly, Luke ix. 6. John the Baptist, during this mission of the apostles, was put to death by Herod, after a year and a half's imprisonment, Matt. xiv. 1, Mark vi. 14, Luke ix. 7. And now Herod, hearing the fame of Jesus, took Him for John risen from the dead, Matt. xiv. 1, Mark vi. 14, Luke ix. 8. And we may here remark, that from this time the attention of Herod was particularly directed to the proceedings of Jesus, so that our Lord could not exercise His ministry in Galilee as freely as before, but was under the necessity of transferring His labours to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and to Cæsarea Philippi and Decapolis, and even to Judæa, from which the persecution of the Pharisees had before driven Him. The twelve apostles returned to Jesus, and rendered an account of their mission, Luke ix. 10, Mark vi. 30; and intelligence at the same time reaching Jesus of the death of John the Baptist, He withdrew from the dominions of Herod Antipas, and retired to a desert place near Bethsaida or Julias, a city in Philip's tetrarchy, Luke ix. 10, Mark vi. 31, Matt. xiv. 12, where He wrought the miracle of feeding the 5,000 with five loaves and two fishes. *This was shortly before the Passover,*

(March 25,) ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, John vi. 4. Jesus after this returned to the land of Gennesaret, Matt. xiv. 34, Mark vi. 53, and to Capernaum, John vi. 24.

Jesus now made a seventh circuit, and passed through Galilee, John vii. 1, and visited the confines of Tyre and Sidon, Mark vii. 24, Matt. xv. 21, and returned to the sea of Galilee by way of Decapolis, Mark vii. 31, Matt. xv. 29, and thence passed to Dalmanutha, Mark viii. 10, and the borders of Magdala, Matt. xv. 39, and thence to Bethsaida, not the πόλις, or city, of Philip's tetrarchy, but the κώμη, or village, of Herod's tetrarchy, and near Capernaum, Mark viii. 22, 23.

Jesus was this year at Jerusalem, at the feast of Tabernacles, (15 October,) ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία, John vii. 2, and apparently he had not been at Jerusalem since the miracle at the pool of Bethesda, in the preceding year, for He thus refers to it, "I have done one work, and ye all marvel," Ἐν ἔργον ἐποίησα, καὶ πάντες θαυμάζετε, John vii. 21. The Pharisees now sought to arrest Jesus, but the officers were afraid to execute the warrant, John vii. 32, 45.

Jesus was again at Jerusalem at the feast of Encænia in the winter, Ἐγένετο τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ χειμῶν ἦν, John x. 22; after which He retired to Bethabara beyond Jordan, and abode there some time, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ, John x. 40. He passed from thence to Bethany, where He raised Lazarus from the dead, John xi. 1. The chief priests and Pharisees seeing the success of Jesus from this miracle, called a Sanhedrim, and a resolution was passed that Jesus should be

put to death, and He was proclaimed an outlaw, John xi. 47, 53, 57. Jesus, to escape His enemies, retired to Ephraim, near the desert, and remained there, *κάκεῖ διετρίβεν*, John xi. 54.

Early in A.D. 33 Jesus quitted Ephraim, and visited Cæsarea Philippi, the capital of Herod Philip's tetrarchy, Matt. xvi. 13, Mark viii. 27. He then returned to Galilee, but kept His journey secret, commanding the disciples not to publish His name, Mark viii. 30. From this time Jesus began to foreshew to His followers that He must suffer at Jerusalem, Matt. xvi. 21, Mark viii. 31. He returned to Capernaum, *καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Καπερναοῦμ*, Mark ix. 33, Matt. xvii. 24, where, as an inhabitant, he paid the poll-tax to the temple, Matt. xvii. 24.

Jesus now announced His intention of proceeding through Samaria to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before Him to prepare the way, Luke ix. 51. The Samaritans opposed his passage through Samaria, Luke ix. 53, when He changed His route, and prepared to cross the Jordan, with a view of descending down the left bank of the river, and then pursuing the road through Jericho to Jerusalem. Jesus sent the seventy disciples, two and two, to the cities and villages through which He was to pass, Luke x. 1, and visited various cities and villages on his way to Jerusalem, Luke xiii. 22, travelling along the border-country of Samaria and Galilee towards the Jordan, *διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, Luke xvii. 11. Jesus crossed the Jordan, and journeyed through Peræa along the left bank till He reached Judæa, *μετῆρυν ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰου-*

δαίαις πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Matt. xix. 1, Mark x. 1. He then crossed the Jordan, and passed through Jericho on His way to Jerusalem, Matt. xx. 17, 29, Mark x. 32, 46, Luke xviii. 35.

The Passover was this year on Thursday, the 2nd of April, and Jesus arrived at Bethany the sixth day before the Passover, and therefore on Saturday, the 28th of March, either after 6 p.m., that He might not travel on the Sabbath, or perhaps He came from the neighbourhood, so that the distance did not exceed a Sabbath day's journey; or possibly our Saviour might not regard a journey on the Sabbath under the circumstances as a breach of the law, as we find Him on another occasion walking with His disciples through the corn-fields on a Sabbath day. *ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν*, John xii. 1. The sixth day in this passage must be reckoned both inclusive, as the sixth day before the calends of January (*ante diem sextum kalend. Januar.*) is the 27th December.

The next day, *τῇ ἐπαύριον*, John xii. 12, (Sunday, the 29th March, and since called Palm-Sunday,) Jesus rode triumphantly from Bethany or Bethphage (both lying together) into Jerusalem, the multitudes strewing branches of palm by the way, Matt. xxi. 1, Mark xi. 1, Luke xix. 29, and surveyed the temple, and in the evening returned to Bethany, Mark xi. 11, Matt. xxi. 17.

The next day, *τῇ ἐπαύριον*, (Monday, the 30th March,) Jesus blighted the fig-tree, Matt. xxi. 18, and expelled the money-changers, &c. from the temple, Mark xi. 15, Matt. xxi. 12, Luke xix. 45; and in the evening, *ὄψε*, returned to Bethany, Mark xi. 19, Matt. xxi. 17.

The next day, *πρῶτι*, (Tuesday, the 31st March,) Jesus returned to Jerusalem, and taught in the temple, Luke xix. 47; and the Sanhedrim (it being two days before the Passover) concerted His death, Matt. xxvi. 2, Mark xiv. 1, Luke xxii. 1, 2.

The next day (Wednesday, the 1st April) Jesus remained in privacy, to avoid the machinations of the Jews, but the Hellenists (*Ἑλληνας*) sought an interview with Him through the intervention of Philip and Andrew, and Jesus held a discourse with them, John xii. 20.

The next day, Thursday, the 2nd April, being the first of the eight days of the Passover, and on which, between noon and sunset, the paschal sacrifices were to be killed, and the paschal supper was to be eaten in the evening, Jesus sent Peter and John to Jerusalem, to prepare the Passover, Matt. xxvi. 17, Luke xxii. 7, Mark xiv. 12. And at the usual hour in the evening (*ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα*) Jesus ate the Passover with His disciples, and instituted the Eucharist, Luke xxii. 14, Matt. xxvi. 20, Mark xiv. 17. At night, *ἦν δὲ νύξ*, John xiii. 30, Jesus retired to the garden of Gethsemane, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and was betrayed by Judas Iscariot, John xviii. 1, Luke xxii. 39, Mark xiv. 32, Matt. xxvi. 30, and led to the house of Annas, John xviii. 13, and then of Caiaphas, Matt. xxvi. 57, Mark xiv. 53, Luke xxii. 54, John xviii. 24.

At break of day, on Friday, the 3rd April, *ὡς ἐγένετο ἡμέρα*, Jesus was tried before the Sanhedrim for blasphemy, Luke xxii. 66, Matt. xxvii. 1, Mark xv. 1, and was conducted to Pilate, who came out of the Prætorium to hear the Jews, who during the eight days of the Passover could not enter the house of

a heathen, lest they should be defiled, John xviii. 28, Matt. xxvii. 2, Luke xxiii. 1, Mark xv. 1. Pilate returned into the Prætorium and examined Jesus, John xviii. 33; and as the charge hitherto had been that of blasphemy, Pilate came forth declaring that he could find no fault in him, and offered to release him, John xviii. 39. On the Jews raising a clamour against this, Pilate entered again into the Prætorium, when Jesus was scourged and mocked by the soldiers, John xix. 1. Pilate now appeared again with Jesus wearing a crown of thorns, John xix. 4, when, hearing that Jesus assumed to be the Son of God, he became alarmed, and returned into the Prætorium, and interrogated Jesus, John xix. 8. Pilate again came forth, when the Jews shifted their ground and charged Jesus with high treason, as claiming to be a king, John xix. 12. Pilate then sat on the judgment-seat or Gabbatha, a platform of tessellated pavement, and heard the charge. It was now 6 a.m. *ὥρα δὲ ὥσει ἕκτη*, John xix. 13. Pilate, after this, finding that Jesus was a Galilean, sent Him to Herod Antipas, as within the tetrarch's jurisdiction, when Herod also examined Jesus and mocked him, and then sent Him back to Pilate, Luke xxiii. 7. Pilate, being unable to induce the Jews to spare Jesus, and afraid of being accused himself for releasing one charged with treason, at length condemned Jesus to death, Luke xxiii. 24, Mark xv. 15, Matt. xxvii. 26, John xix. 16, when Jesus was led into the Prætorium and made sport of by the soldiers, Matt. xxvi. 27, Mark xv. 16, and was then crucified at Golgotha, at 9 o'clock, *ὥρα τρίτη* (Jewish reckoning), Mark xv. 25, Matt. xxvii. 33, John xix. 17,

Luke xxiii. 33. From 12 o'clock at noon to 3 p.m., occurred a supernatural darkness, Matt. xxvii. 45, Mark xv. 33, Luke xxiii. 44. At 3 p.m., τῆ ὥρᾳ τῆ ἐννάτῃ, Jesus expired, Mark xv. 34.

One thing to the author's mind is perfectly clear from the foregoing statement, viz., that during our Lord's ministry there occurred four distinct consecutive Passovers, and assuming as a basis that, as Luke tells us, John the Baptist began in the 15th year of Tiberius, i. e. some time between 19 Aug. A.D. 28, and 19 Aug. A.D. 29, the only question is whether the first of the four Passovers of our Saviour's ministry was that of A.D. 29, or that of A.D. 30. Now the former supposition would crowd into the short period of eight months, viz., from 19 Aug. A.D. 28, to 16 April (the day of the Passover) A.D. 29, events that seem to require a much larger space; for during this interval John commenced his ministry, (certainly not *before*, but possibly some months *after*, the 19 Aug. A.D. 28,) Jesus was baptized, was tempted forty days in the wilderness, the preaching of John continued long enough to attract the notice of the Sanhedrim, some Pharisees were sent on a mission to inquire into his pretensions, Jesus returned to John, and was pointed out by him as the Messiah, Jesus passed into Galilee and resided at Cana, He then went down to Capernaum and remained there some days, and finally opened His ministry at Jerusalem at the first of the four Passovers. We have therefore (for this amongst other reasons) fixed the first of the four Passovers not in A.D. 29, but in A.D. 30, and if so, it follows of course that the last of the four was in A.D. 33. Thus the Gospel dispensation

beginning, as we have supposed, with the preaching of John at the Passover A.D. 29, and ending at the Passover A.D. 33, would be just four years, the duration implied in the parable of the fig-tree⁷; and the ministry of our Saviour from October A.D. 29, to the Passover A.D. 33, would be three years and six months, the period of the mission of Elias during the famine, and apparently referred to by our Saviour Himself as analogous to the length of His own ministry⁸.

That the last of the four Passovers, when our Saviour was crucified, was in the year A.D. 33, not only results from the harmony of the foregoing narrative, but is also evidenced by other and wholly independent arguments, which we now proceed to consider.

That our Saviour was crucified on a *Friday* is a fact familiar to all. Now if we can shew from the Gospels that the Jews did actually celebrate their Passover on the evening that preceded the Crucifixion, that is, on the Thursday, and that the Passover, by the rules which regulated it, would fall on a Thursday in the year A.D. 33, but would not so fall in any year either before or after A.D. 33, for a considerable period, it will necessarily follow that the crucifixion of our Lord must be assigned to the year A.D. 33, and cannot be referred to any earlier or later year. We have therefore to establish these two propositions: 1. That the Jewish Passover *was* eaten by the Jews on the evening next before our Lord's crucifixion; and 2. That in the year A.D. 33, the paschal feast fell on a Thursday.

1. That the Passover was eaten by the Jews on the

⁷ Luke xiii. 6.

⁸ Luke iv. 24.

evening which preceded the Crucifixion, is a point upon which there is the most perfect harmony amongst the *three first* evangelists. It is indeed so clearly stated by them, that one would think not a doubt could be raised about it.

The reader will bear in mind that the only question in dispute amongst the learned, is whether the paschal feast of the Jews was eaten by them on the evening *before*, or on the evening *after*, the Crucifixion. What does our Saviour Himself foretell as to this? We find the following passage in Matthew; “Ye know that after two days *is the feast of the Passover*, and *the Son of Man is betrayed* to be crucified^a.” Is it not to be plainly understood from these words, that the Passover was to begin *before* the Son of Man should be betrayed? If so, as Christ was betrayed on the Thursday night, and was crucified on Friday morning, the Passover could not commence on the Friday evening, but must have begun the day before.

Again, what account do the three first evangelists give of the Last Supper? do they call it the Passover? and if so, do they imply that our Saviour ate the Passover with His disciples at the usual time, or proleptically, as it is called, i. e. by anticipation, and that while He ate the Passover on the Thursday, the Jews generally ate the Passover on the Friday.

What says St. Matthew? “Now the *first day* of the feast of unleavened bread (τῆ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων), the *disciples* came to Jesus, saying unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat *the Passover*?

^a Matt. xxvi. 2.

And He said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will *keep the Passover* at thy house, with My disciples. And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they *made ready the Passover*. Now *when the even was come*, He sat down with the twelve^b." Here we have not the most distant hint that our Saviour ate the Passover a day before the usual time. On the contrary, it was manifestly at the ordinary season, for the question where He was to eat it was put to Jesus by the *disciples* themselves, who, of course, would reckon the Passover as their countrymen did. The very day too in which the inquiry is made is called the first day of unleavened bread, i. e. the day of the paschal sacrifices, in the evening of which the paschal supper was eaten. An attempt indeed is made to explain this away by the suggestion that τῆ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων means the day *before* the feast; but this cannot be, for both Mark and Luke, as we shall see, call it the day of the paschal sacrifices. The supper, too, is repeatedly designated by Matthew as *the Passover*, without anything in the context to indicate that it was not the ordinary feast, eaten at the accustomed time. "Where wilt Thou that we prepare the *Passover*?" "I will keep the *Passover*." "They made ready the *Passover*."

Mark gives the same relation, and in very similar terms, as Matthew^c, but to the words τῆ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀζύμων, "on the first day of unleavened bread," he adds, "when they killed the Passover," which is very observable, as denoting the same day on which the

^b Matt. xxvi. 17—20.

^c Mark xiv. 12.

supper was eaten, for the paschal lamb was killed between noon and eventide, (and generally between 3 and 5 o'clock,) on the day in the evening of which the paschal feast was celebrated.

If any doubt could remain as to the meaning of the expression τῆ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων, it is removed by the narrative of St. Luke, for he tells us in the corresponding passage^d, "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed," (ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐν ἣ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα). Here we are told expressly that the day (that is, the first day) of unleavened bread was come. It was not the day before, but the very day on which the Passover was slain in the afternoon and was eaten in the evening. And Luke implies also, that our Saviour ate the Passover at the usual hour, for he adds, when "the hour," i. e. the customary hour, "was come, (ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα,) He sat down^e."

We shall now advert to the objections that have been urged against the hypothesis, that the Passover of the Jews preceded the Crucifixion. It is said, that if the Passover began on the Thursday, Christ was arrested by the rulers of the Jews *during the feast*; whereas, at the Sanhedrim previously held by them, they had come to the resolution of not apprehending Him "on the feast day, (ἐν τῆ ἑορτῇ,) lest there should be an uproar among the people^f." And not only so, but the Crucifixion, it is said, would then be during a feast, and it was not lawful amongst the Jews to put any man to death during a

^d Luke xxii. 7.

^e Luke xxii. 14.

^f Matt. xxvi. 5; Mark xiv. 1.

festival. To the first of these objections we answer, that the rulers of the Jews had come to the resolution referred to, when they supposed that the apprehension of Jesus would be conducted openly and by force. But very unexpectedly Judas Iscariot presented himself to the rulers, and offered to *betray* Jesus, when their counsels were at once altered, for by means of the proffered treachery, which they accepted with eagerness, they were enabled, as they did, to arrest Jesus without the least public disturbance. As to the objection, that the Jews would not have put our Lord to death during a festival, the answer is, that the Jews did *not* put Him to death. If they had done so for blasphemy, the first accusation, our Lord would have been stoned, and then His prediction would not have been verified, that He should be "lifted up;" but the rulers of the Jews admitted themselves before Pilate, "It is not lawful for *us* to put any man to death^s," viz. during the feast; but by accusing Jesus of setting Himself up as king, they made it a Roman offence,—no less a charge than a violation of the Julian laws, or high treason; and it was upon this count that Jesus was eventually tried before Pilate, and condemned, and then crucified,—the Roman mode of execution. Now whatever scruples the Jews might have of profaning the festival by capital punishment, the Romans had none, but, on the contrary, considered the feasts, when such multitudes were congregated together, as the fittest occasion for making a public example. Accordingly we find, that at the same time with our Saviour there were also crucified two

^s John xviii. 31.

notable bandits. Even the Jews, however, occasionally, and under special circumstances, appear to have had recourse to capital punishment during their feasts, otherwise Hegesippus, in his account of the martyrdom of James the Just, would not have stated it to have occurred at the time of a Passover^b. The fact may or not have been as related, but at all events it is evident, that in the writer's opinion, there was no absurdity in the supposition.

But in support of the hypothesis that the Passover was eaten, not *before*, as we have assumed, but *after*, the Crucifixion, reliance is principally placed upon certain ambiguous expressions used in the Gospel of St. John, and which we shall now examine.

The first passage is the following: "Now *before the feast of the Passover*, (πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα,) Jesus, knowing that His hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them unto the endⁱ;" and the evangelist then recounts the instance of love to which he alluded, viz., the washing of the disciples' feet, and begins his narrative with the words, "And supper being ended," &c., "He riseth from supper," &c. Here it is said the washing of the disciples' feet is expressly stated to be *after* the supper, and yet *before* the Passover, so that the supper of our Lord on the Thursday could not have been the celebration of the Passover itself. What are the facts? John had stated in the previous chapter, that Jesus came to Bethany, in the suburbs of Jerusalem, "*six days before the Passover*"^k."

^b Euseb., l. ii. c. 23.

ⁱ John xiii. 1.

^k John xii. 1.

By the expression *πρὸ ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, he does not mean *the day* before the arrival of the Passover, or he would have used words to that effect, this evangelist being remarkably particular in the sequence of the *days*, as any one must observe on a perusal of the first chapter of his Gospel; but the import of the phrase is, “now immediately before the *feast* of the Passover, or *paschal supper*,” Jesus testified His love by washing the disciples’ feet, which was a preliminary ceremony before eating the lamb. Philo tells us, that before the guests presumed to eat the Passover they purified themselves by ablution, that is, by washing the head, and hands, and feet¹. Jesus discharged the most menial of these offices by washing, not the hands or head, but the feet of the disciples. Peter asked that his hands and his head also might be washed, but Jesus rebuked him, as He had intended only to give a lesson of humility. The paschal supper then had not yet begun, and if we follow the narrative we shall find this to be the case. The words translated “and supper being ended,” “He riseth from supper,” are *καὶ δείπνου γενομένου . . ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου*, and should be rendered, “and when it was supper^m,” &c., “He riseth from table,” &c. For that the supper

¹ Ἐκάστη δὲ οἰκία κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον σχῆμα ἱεροῦ καὶ σεμνότητα περιβέβληται, τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἱερείου πρὸς τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν εὐωχίαν εὐτρεπιζομένου, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια συνειλεγμένων ἀγνευτικοῖς περιρραντηρίοις κεκαθαρμένων. Philo de Septenario, s. 18. Indeed, generally, the Jews, before a banquet, were wont to wash their feet, as we may learn from the words of Christ when He supped with Simon the Pharisee, “I entered into thy house, thou gavest Me no water for My feet.”—Luke vii. 44.

^m As *Γενομένης δὲ ἑσπέρας*, Philo in Flacc. s. 13, is “when evening was come,” and not “when evening was passed.”

had not yet taken place is evident from the sequel. After Jesus had concluded the ceremony of washing the disciples' feet, He sat down again (*ἀναπεσὼν πάλιν*, John xiii. 12), and the supper commenced. This is shewn by the subsequent introduction of our Lord's declaration, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me^m;" for both Matthew (xxvi. 21), and Mark (xiv. 18), who relate the same words, expressly say that they were uttered while Jesus and His disciples were eating the Passover, *ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν*. The same thing is also implied in the Gospel of John himself; for when John asked Jesus who it was who should betray Him, Jesus said, "He it is to whom I shall give a sop," for no doubt the sop was given so as not to excite observation in the course of the supper.

There are still three other passages of St. John which have been relied upon as proving that Christ was crucified *before* the Passover; one of them is connected with the subject just discussed. When Judas, after the sop, left the room and went out, with an intimation from Jesus not to tarry, "what thou doest do quickly," the disciples surmised either that he had been directed to "buy those things that they had need of against the feast," (*ὧν χρεΐαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν*), or to "give something to the poor." The former supposition, it is said, assumes that the feast had not yet begun. However, though the paschal lamb had been eaten, yet some ceremonies might still remain, and it is much more likely that Judas, at that unseasonable hour, should have quitted the table abruptly to purchase something needed

^m John xiii. 21.

ⁿ John xiii. 29.

immediately for the due observance of the feast which they were then celebrating, than to procure provisions for a feast to begin the following afternoon. But even supposing that Judas's object was to buy provisions for a feast which was to be observed the next day, it by no means follows that such feast was the Passover. The feast of unleavened bread continued, after the day of the paschal sacrifice, an entire week, and during the whole of that time unleavened cakes were eaten and sacrifices made; and not only so, but the feast of the Passover on the first day was followed by the feast of the sheaf-offering on the second day, so that Judas might very naturally be thought to be engaged in making purchases either against the remaining days of unleavened bread, or the feast of the sheaf-offering in particular.

Another passage is, that when the Jews conducted Jesus to the Prætorium they would not enter in, "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover°;" and these words have been cited as a proof that the Passover had not then been celebrated. But how is this language at variance with the hypothesis that the paschal lamb had been eaten the evening before? If, as is supposed on the other side, the Jews would not pollute themselves the morning *before* a feast, *à fortiori* they would not do so when the feast had actually begun, and was in the course of celebration. The words, "that they might eat the Passover," do not necessarily have any reference to the Passover, in the strict sense, for the whole seven days of unleavened bread were called the

° John xviii. 28.

Passover, and as they were distinguished by the eating of unleavened cakes, "to eat the Passover," was a synonymous expression with keeping the feast^p. The Jews therefore would not enter into the Prætorium, not that they might eat the paschal lamb in the evening (by which time possibly they might have purified themselves again^q), but that they might "eat the Passover," i. e. keep the remaining days of the feast without defilement.

The only other objection drawn from St. John's Gospel is the passage, that when Pilate took his seat on the tribunal, upon the Gabbatha or tessellated pavement, John remarks that "It was *the Preparation of the Passover*;" words which have been accepted as equivalent to "the preparation *for* the Passover," and indicating that the Passover had not yet arrived. Now the expression Preparation (*παρασκευῆ*) had amongst the Jews a purely technical import, being used without either article or adjunct, and signifying *the day before the Sabbath*. Thus Mark writing for Roman converts, who might not be acquainted with the term, and speaking of the Friday after the Crucifixion, observes, "It was the *Preparation*, that is, *the day before the Sabbath*," (*ἦν παρασκευῆ ὃ ἐστὶ προσάββατον*.) Mark xvi. 42. Both Matthew and Luke, and even John himself, use it in the same sense^r. The Passover (by which name the feast of unleavened bread was commonly known) lasted seven days, besides the day of the paschal sacrifices, and of course a Sabbath oc-

^p "They ate throughout the feast, seven days." 2 Chron. xxx. 22.

^q In *general*, however, a purification required a whole day.

^r John xix. 14.

^s Matt. xxvii. 62; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 31.

curred during the week. This Sabbath was called the Sabbath of the Passover, and the preceding day, or Preparation, (*παρασκευή*), was known as the Preparation of the Passover. Thus the expression of John, instead of proving that the Passover was still future, indicates exactly the reverse, inasmuch as this Preparation is called the paschal Preparation, or that which occurred in the paschal week.

Perhaps the ambiguous phrases found in the Gospel of St. John, and which we have just discussed, might at first sight, and taken by themselves, suggest the notion that the evangelist assumed the day of the Passover to be still future; but even in John we meet with other expressions implying as clearly that the Passover had already commenced. The words, "The Preparation *of* (not *for*) the Passover," tend to this conclusion: and again we read, "The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day, (which began at 6 p.m. on Friday,) for that day was a high day, besought Pilate," &c.* Here the evangelist speaks of the Sabbath commencing on Friday at 6 p.m. as a "high day;" but if, as supposed by those whose opinion we are impugning, the Passover itself was to take place on Friday, John would have called it the Passover, or *the* high day, and not merely *a* high day. But if, on the contrary, as we contend, the paschal supper had been eaten the previous evening (Thursday), the language is most appropriate, for the day after the Passover, or second day of the feast of unleavened bread, viz. from Friday at 6 p.m. to Satur-

* John xix. 31.

day at 6 p.m., though not *the* high day, was *a* high day, being the feast of the sheaf-offering^a. Again, Pilate is described in St. John as saying to the people on the Friday morning, "Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover," ἐν τῷ πάσχα^x, i. e. "during," or "in the course of," the Passover; does it not then follow that at the time when these words were uttered, the Passover had already commenced.

The result of the whole argument is that Matthew, Mark, and Luke state most positively that the paschal supper was eaten the evening before the Crucifixion, while all the passages in St. John having a contrary tendency are capable of explanation. We must therefore conclude that the paschal supper was eaten by the Jews on the evening of the Thursday next preceding our Lord's crucifixion.

2. We have now to establish that the Passover, or supper of the paschal lamb, in the year A.D. 33 fell on a Thursday, and did not fall on that day in any other year either before or after, for a period of many years.

Before we enter upon a discussion of the authorities as to the rule by which the Passover was regulated, we must premise some general observations, without which the disjointed passages which will be cited can scarcely be understood.

The Passover, (πάσχα,) or feast of Unleavened bread, (ἄζυμα,) (for both terms were used,) in their ordinary and common acceptation comprised three distinct feasts that fell together at the same season of the year, viz. the

^a Philo de Septenario, sect. 20.

^x John xviii. 39.

Passover, properly so called, the feast of Unleavened bread, and the feast of the Sheaf-offering. The Passover was always on the 14th Nisan, reckoned from 6 p.m. to 6 p.m., the paschal sacrifices being killed on the 14th Nisan, between noon and eventide, and the paschal supper being eaten the same evening. The feast of unleavened bread began with the 15th Nisan, at 6 p.m., and ended at 6 p.m. on that day week, during all which time certain sacrifices were killed, and unleavened cakes were eaten. The feast of the sheaf-offering began with the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, and lasted one day, the sheaf being offered in the morning. Thus, supposing the feast of the Passover to begin on Wednesday, the 14th Nisan, at 6 p.m., the paschal sacrifices would be killed on Thursday in the afternoon, and the paschal supper would be eaten the same evening. The feast of unleavened bread would begin at 6 p.m. on the same Thursday, and expire at 6 p.m. on the Thursday following. The feast of the sheaf-offering would begin at 6 p.m. on Friday, and the sheaf would be offered on Saturday morning, and the feast would end at 6 p.m. on Saturday. The Sabbath and the sheaf-offering in this case falling together, would more particularly make the day what St. John calls "a high day." We may further remark, that the sacrifices for the Passover were killed, according to Philo⁷, from 12 at noon till eventide, or, according to Josephus⁸, between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. on the 14th Nisan. But both agree that this 14th of Nisan was reckoned the first day of the feast, so that the

⁷ Ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἕως ἑσπέρας. Philo de Septen., sect. 18.

⁸ Θύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ ἑννάτης ὥρας μέχρι ἑνδεκάτης. Jos. Bell. vi. 9, 3.

Passover, or feast of unleavened bread, (in the larger signification of those terms,) was said to last eight days, beginning on the 14th Nisan, and ending on the 21st Nisan. The writers of the New Testament speak of the feast in the same way. Thus Matthew writes, "On the *first day* of unleavened bread^a," (which evidently, from the context, was the day of the paschal sacrifices,) the disciples asked Jesus where He would eat the Passover, which was to be celebrated the same evening. So Mark in similar terms, "On the *first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover*^b;" and Luke, "Then came the *day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed*^c."

What we have to ascertain in the first place is, by what rule from year to year the recurrence of the paschal festival was determined. The pivot of the whole year was the 15th Nisan, or the first day of unleavened bread. The 14th day (exclusive) before it was the 1st Nisan, or the commencement of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, and all the other feasts followed at certain regular intervals.

The 15th Nisan then was *that day (reckoned by the Jews from 6 p.m. to 6 p.m.) on which occurred the first full moon after the vernal equinox*. The Passover was the day before, or the 14th Nisan, and therefore always *preceded* the full moon. In strictness, the paschal sacrifices were to be both killed and eaten on the 14th Nisan, viz. before 6 p.m., but as the sacrifices were usually killed between the hours of 3 and 5, it is probable that the pas-

^a Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων. Matt. xxvi. 17.

^b Mark xiv. 17.

^c Luke xxii. 7.

chal supper often extended itself into the 15th Nisan, i.e. was celebrated after 6 p.m.

According to the law of Moses, the lamb was to be chosen on the 10th Nisan, and was to be killed on the 14th Nisan, between the evenings, that is, in the afternoon, and was to be eaten the same evening^d, with bitter herbs and unleavened bread^e.

We cannot have any higher authority, after holy Writ, than Philo, who was living at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, and was the most learned Jew of the day, and composed a tract upon the nature of the Jewish feasts. Philo then tells us that the *sacrifices* for the Passover were killed from noon to eventide on the 14th Nisan^f, and were eaten the same day with the saying of prayer and the singing of hymns. And he then informs us that the feast of unleavened bread, in its proper and confined sense, joined on to the feast of the Passover, and he proceeds thus: "This feast (of unleavened bread) begins on the 15th Nisan, the day that divides the month, and *on which the moon arrives at the full*, in order that on that day there may be no darkness at all^g." The 15th Nisan then, which began at 6 p.m. of the day on which the paschal sacrifices were killed, and in the evening of which the paschal supper was eaten, was that day reckoned from 6 p.m. to 6 p.m. on which the moon

^d Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. ix. 3; xxviii. 16.

^e Exodus xii. 6.

^f "Αγεται δὲ ἡ πάνδημος θυσία (the Passover) τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός (Nisan). Philo de Septen., s. 18, 19.

^g Τῆς δὲ ἑορτῆς (Ἀζύμων) διχόμενος ἄρχει ἡ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ καθ' ἣν σελήνη πλησιφαῆς γίνεται, προνοία τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι σκότος κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. Philo de Septen., s. 19.

arrived at the full, and for the reason assigned by Philo, viz. that there might be no darkness.

In a subsequent passage he is still more decided, for he explains the reason why the feast of unleavened bread was observed on the 15th Nisan, thus: "That not only by day, but by night also, the world may be full of the all-glorious light of the sun and moon, which on that day rise in *exact opposition to each other* with indiscriminate beams, so as to leave no interval of darkness^b." The 15th Nisan, therefore, was the day on which the sun and moon were in direct opposition, that is, when the moon was at the full.

In another passage Philo observes: "Moses writes, that the first month should begin after the vernal equinox. And in that month, on *the 14th day*, when the moon's orb is just *about to be full*, the Passover, a notable festival, called in Chaldee Pascha, is celebratedⁱ." This exactly accords with his previous statement, viz. that the paschal sacrifices were killed on the 14th Nisan, and that on the 14th Nisan the moon was not full, but just about to be full, (*μέλλοντος γένεσθαι πλεσιφαούς*), i. e. it would be full a few hours after on the 15th Nisan.

We cannot part from Philo without adverting to

^b "Ἴνα μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ πλήρης ὁ κόσμος ᾗ τοῦ παγκάλου φωτὸς, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοισ ἐπανατελλόντων αὐγαῖς ἀδιαστίκτοις αἷς μεθόριον οὐ διακρίνει σκότος. Philo de Septen., s. 24.

ⁱ Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωυσῆς. Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τούτῳ περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γένεσθαι πλεσιφαούς ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια δημοφανῆς ἑορτῇ τὸ Χαλδαιστὶ λεγόμενον Πάσχα. Phil. Vit. Moys. iii. 68.;

another remarkable passage, in which he states that the feast of the New moon was celebrated as being the *first day of the month*, ἀρχὴ μηνός, and also as the day on which the new moon *became visible to the eye*; in other words, that on the first day of the month occurred, not the actual new moon, or the change, but the phasis¹. The explanation is as follows. The interval between the actual new moon, or change, and the full moon, being 14 days and 18 hours, and the full moon always falling on the 15th Nisan, the change of the moon would not necessarily be on the 1st Nisan, but would sometimes take place as much as 18 hours before. Thus, if the full moon occurred at the first instant of the 15th Nisan, the new moon would at the beginning of the 1st Nisan be 18 hours old; while, as the opposite extreme, if the full moon occurred at the last instant of the 15th Nisan, the actual new moon would take place about six hours after the commencement of the 1st Nisan. On the other hand, the moon not being visible until 18 hours after the change, and again disappearing 18 hours before the next change, (making together 36 hours, or a day and a half,) the whole lunation of the *visible* moon was just 28 days, and the interval between the phasis or first appearance of the moon and the full was exactly 14 days, and thus if the full moon was always on the 15th Nisan, the phasis would be always on the 1st Nisan, and *vice versa*. The

¹ Τρίτην ἑορτὴν ἀναγράφομεν τὴν κατὰ σελήνης νεομηνίαν. Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀρχὴ μηνός, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι κατ' αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἀφωτιστὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ· τρίτον δὲ, ὅτι τῷ ἐλάττονι καὶ ἀσθενεστέρω κακ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τὸ κρείττον καὶ δυνατώτερον ὠφελείας ἀναγκαίας μεταδίδωσι. Νουμηνία γὰρ ἄρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῶ φέγγει σελήνην ἥλιος, ἣ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαίνει τοῖς ὀρώσι. Philo de Septen., sect. 17.

Jews, therefore, regulated their ecclesiastical year, not by the change, but by the phasis of the moon, and thus, as Philo remarks, the full moon was always on the 15th Nisan, and the new moon was always on the 1st Nisan.

Turn we now to Josephus, who being himself a priest, and acquainted with Jewish ceremonies, and living at the same time with Philo, though somewhat junior to him, must rank next to him in authority. We read in the Antiquities, "But Moses made it a law, that in the month Xanthicus, called by us Nisan, and which is the beginning of the year, *on the fourteenth day*, according to the moon, (i. e. according to the moon's phasis¹,) we should every year *kill the sacrifice called the Passover*. But on the 15th Nisan, the feast of unleavened bread, which lasts seven days, succeeds the Passover, and on the 2nd day of the feast of unleavened bread, being the 16th Nisan, we offer the *first-fruits* of the barley, (i. e. the sheaf-offering^k)." Here we have a statement that the Passover was on the 14th Nisan, and since the historian mentions in another place that the sacrifices were between 3 and 5 p.m., it follows that the paschal supper was eaten in the evening of the day on which began the 15th Nisan, reckoned from 6 p.m. to 6 p.m. Again, he tells us, as Philo had done before, that the feast of un-

¹ It cannot be from the moon's change, for then the 15th Nisan would not always be the day of the full moon, which it invariably was.

^k Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ ὃς Νισάν παρ' ἡμῖν καλεῖται, καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην, . . . τὴν θυσίαν Πάσχα λεγομένην δι' ἔτους ἐκάστου θύειν ἐνόμισεν. Πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ δεκάτῃ διαδέχεται τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα ἢ τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας οὔσα. Τῇ δὲ δευτέρῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων (ἡμέρα ἕκτη δ' ἐστὶν καὶ δεκάτῃ) τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι. Ant. iii. 10, 5.

leavened bread commenced with the 15th Nisan, and that the sheaf-offering was on the second day of that feast, viz. on the 16th Nisan. Thus the Passover was on the day *before* the full moon, the feast of unleavened bread began on the day *of* the full moon, and the feast of the sheaf-offering was on the day *after* the full moon.

In another passage is this: "Having performed the *sacrifice* called the *Passover* on the 14th *day* of the same month, (Nisan,) they feasted seven days¹." Here again the paschal sacrifices are placed on the 14th Nisan, i. e. in the afternoon of that day, (the paschal supper therefore being in the evening,) and after that, and exclusively, follow the seven days of unleavened bread, making together, for the whole festival, eight days, the duration reckoned by Josephus in an earlier page of the same work^m. In the Wars we read, "The feast of unleavened bread (^νΑζύμα) being in the course of celebration on the 14th day of the month Xanthicusⁿ;" which is consistent with his former accounts, for the feast of unleavened bread (^νΑζύμα) here means the whole festival, called indifferently Πάσχα and ^νΑζύμα, commencing with the paschal sacrifices on the 14th Nisan, and making, with the seven days of unleavened bread, the eight days allowed by him for the entire festival.

Eusebius furnishes us with the additional testimony of Agritobulus, who was an ancient master in Israel, and is said to have assisted in translating the Septua-

¹ Τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευομένην θυσίαν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς (Nisan) ἐπιτελέσαντες κατενωχῆθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Ant. xi. 4, 8.

^m Ant. ii. 15, 1.

ⁿ Τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐνοστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαυδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς (Nisan). Bell. v. 3, 1.

gint. It runs as follows: "The day of the Passover being appointed for the 14th day of the month (Nisan), after eventide, the moon will be in diametrical opposition to the sun, &c.°;" from which we collect the same results as before, viz. that the paschal sacrifices commenced on the 14th Nisan, and that the paschal supper was eaten the same evening; and that just about that time, viz. between the sunset of that day and the sunset of the following, that is, on the 15th Nisan, reckoned from 6 p.m. to 6 p.m., the sun and moon were in direct opposition, and consequently the moon was at the full.

The citations which have been adduced appear to justify the following conclusions, viz.—That the Passover, including the paschal sacrifices and the paschal supper, was observed on the 14th Nisan, the day next *before* the full of the moon; that the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th Nisan, reckoned from 6 p.m. to 6 p.m., and was the *very day* of the first *full moon* after the vernal equinox; and that the feast of the sheaf-offering was on the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, and therefore on the day *after* the full of the moon.

Let us test the accuracy of these deductions by taking a particular instance. The Jewish historian will fortunately supply us with the materials. Josephus mentions, that when Antiochus Sidetes, toward the close

° Δοθείσης τῆς τῶν Διαβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς μεθ' ἑσπέρας, ἐστήξεται μὲν σελήνη τὴν ἐναντιάν καὶ (lege κατὰ) διάμετρον τῷ ἡλίῳ στάσιν· ὥσπερ οὖν ἕξεισιν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις ὄρᾶν· ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἑαρινὸν ἰσημέρινον ὁ ἥλιος τμημα, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινοπώρινον ἰσημέρινον ἢ σελήνη. Eccles. Hist. vii. 32.

of his life, made a campaign against the Parthians, he was accompanied by Hyrcanus the high-priest; and Josephus appeals, in confirmation of this statement, to Nicolaus of Damascus, who recorded the anecdote, that Antiochus, after a victory over Indates, the Parthian general, halted two days on the banks of the Lycus, in deference to Hyrcanus, as a Jewish festival then occurred, during which the Jews were prohibited by their law from marching; and Josephus adds, that Nicolaus was perfectly right, for that, as it happened, the *feast of the Pentecost* followed in that year next after a *Jewish Sabbath*, so that the Jews could not move from their quarters during those two days^p. Of what year then is the historian speaking? Livy tells us that the campaign against the Parthians was in the consulship of C. Claudius and M. Perperna^q, i. e. in B.C. 130. There is some conflict of authority as to the details of the war, but the fullest account of it is to be found in Justin, viz. that Antiochus advanced boldly into the enemy's country, and fought three battles successfully, and then dispersed his troops into winter quarters in different parts of Babylonia. This division of his forces emboldened the king of Parthia to resume the offensive, and Antiochus was slain, according to Justin, in the winter^r,

^p Τρόπαιον στήσας ὁ Ἀντιοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ, νικήσας Ἰνδάτην τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγὸν, αὐτόθι ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας δύο, δεηθέντος Ἑρκάνου τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διὰ τινα ἑορτὴν πάτρων ἐν ἣ οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν· καὶ τὰντα μὲν (Josephus adds) οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων, ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ Πεντηκοστὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν, οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὀδεύειν. Jos. Ant. xiii. 3, 4.

^q Liv. Epit., lib. 59.

^r Auxilium proximis laturus cum ea manu quæ secum hiemabat progreditur. In itinere .. metu suorum desertus occiditur. Justin, xxxviii. 10.

or, according to Diodorus, in the following spring^s. The death of Antiochus was therefore in the winter of B.C. 130, or the spring of B.C. 129. This agrees with the other dates in the life of Antiochus, for he came to the throne in the 174th year of the Seleucian era^t, i.e. some time between the autumn of B.C. 139 and the autumn of B.C. 138, (as is confirmed by the coins of this king, which begin with that Seleucian year^u;) and Eusebius, citing Porphyry, tells us that Antiochus reigned nine years^x, which he would thus have done if he perished at the close of B.C. 130, or the beginning of B.C. 129. Again, Antiochus was succeeded by Demetrius, who died in the 187th year of the Seleucian era, i.e. some time between the autumn of B.C. 126 and the autumn of B.C. 125, (as appears from the fact that coins both of Demetrius and of Grypus, his successor, are found with the stamp of that year^y;) and Eusebius tells us that Demetrius reigned four years from the death of Antiochus^z, which again answers to the hypothesis that Antiochus died at the close of B.C. 130, or in the spring of B.C. 129. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the victory over Indates, mentioned by Josephus, was the first of the three battles fought in B.C. 130, and that the Pentecost alluded to was the feast of that year.

On what day, then, did the feast of Pentecost fall in the year B.C. 130?

The hinge upon which the whole Jewish year turned

^s 'Ο στρατηγὸς Ἀντιόχου Ἀθήναιος πλείστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισταθμίαις εἰργασμένος κακὰ, τῆς φυγῆς κατάρξας καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐγκαταλιπὼν τῆς προσηκούσης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε. Diod. xxiv., and see further fragments in Clinton's F. H.

^t 1 Maccab. xv. 10.

^u Eckhel on Coins.

^x Euseb. Chronic.

^y Eckhel on Coins.

^z Euseb. Chronic.

was, as we have said, the 15th Nisan, which was always the day of the first full moon after the vernal equinox i. e. when the sun entered into the first point of Aries^a. In the time of Julius Cæsar, the vernal equinox was computed (whether correctly or not) to fall upon the 25th of March^b, and in the century before it was still later^c. In B. C. 130, therefore, the first full moon after the vernal equinox would be that which occurred at Jerusalem on the 24th of April, about 10 a. m.^d The 15th Nisan, then, was from the 23rd of April, 6 p. m., to the 24th of April, 6 p. m., and the 16th Nisan, the sheaf-offering, was from the 24th of April, 6 p. m., to the 25th of April, 6 p. m. From the 16th Nisan (exclusive) were reckoned 7 weeks, or 49 days, and the next day was the feast of weeks, or Pentecost, i. e. the 50th day from the 16th Nisan, exclusive. That the Pentecost was computed in this way is evident enough. In Leviticus xxiii. 15, we read, "And ye shall count unto you from *the morrow after* the Sabbath (meaning by the Sabbath the 15th Nisan). From the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering, (the 16th Nisan,) seven Sabbaths (or weeks) shall be complete. Even unto the morrow *after* the seventh Sabbath (or week) shall ye number fifty days, and ye shall offer a new meat-offering," &c. (viz. the Pentecost). So Philo tells us that the 16th Nisan, or second day of unleavened bread, was called the sheaf, (*δράγμα*.) and "from that day forward is reckoned the Pentecost, or 50th day,

^a Jos. Ant. iii. 10, 5.

^b See Greswell's Proleg., p. 28.

^c The rate of the precession of the equinoxes is one day in 130 years.

^d See Anger, 36; and this is confirmed by the eclipses, as calculated by Pingrè, for the year B. C. 130.

the odd day setting the seal to the sacred number of seven weeks.* And Josephus uses very similar terms†. Indeed, Maimonides expressly tells us that the Pentecost was the 50th day from the 16th Nisan, *exclusive*‡. Our Church, therefore, has from the earliest ages celebrated Whit-Sunday, which corresponds to the Jewish Pentecost, on the right day; for our Saviour was crucified, as we shall see, on Friday, the 15th Nisan, so that Saturday was the 16th Nisan; and Whit-Sunday is always the 50th day from the Saturday next before Easter, *exclusive*.

The 15th Nisan, then, was in the year B.C. 130, on the 24th of April, reckoned from 6 p.m. of the preceding evening; and the 16th Nisan, or the sheaf-offering, was on the 25th of April, reckoned from 6 p.m. of the preceding evening; and the 50th day from that, *exclusive*, or the 14th of June, was the Pentecost; and according to Josephus, in explanation of Nicolaus of Damascus, this Pentecost followed next after a Jewish Sabbath, and therefore fell on a Sunday. We turn to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, (which I assume to be accurate, not only from the established reputation of the writer, but also from its harmonizing with the German computations,) and we find that the 14th of June, B.C. 130, did actually fall on a Sunday, and that the day before, or the 13th of June, was a Saturday, i. e. the Jewish Sabbath. Thus two feasts fell together, as Josephus remarks, and the

* Ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Πεντηκοστὴ ἀριθμεῖται, ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγιζομένης μονάδος. Philo de Septen. sect. 21.

† Ἐβδόμη δ' ἑβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης μετὰ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν (αὐταὶ δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑννέα), τῇ Πεντηκοστῇ, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι Ἀσπαρθὰ καλοῦσιν . . . προσάγουσι τῷ Θεῷ ἄρτον. Ant. iii. 10.

‡ See Jennings' Jewish Antiq. on the subject of the Pentecost.

two days for which Antiochus Sidetes halted, out of compliment to Hyrcanus, were the 13th and 14th of June, B.C. 130.

We have now only to apply the same principles to A.D. 33, the year which we have assigned to the Crucifixion.

In A.D. 33, the first full moon after the vernal equinox was on the 3rd of April, at Jerusalem, at 5.12 p.m. This is the calculation adopted by Greswell^b, and is no doubt correct. The 15th Nisan, then was from 6 p.m. on the 2nd of April to 6 p.m. on the 3rd of April. The paschal sacrifices were killed between noon and eventide on the 2nd of April, and the paschal supper was eaten the same evening. On *what day of the week*, then, did the 2nd of April fall in A.D. 33? We turn to the Book of Almanacks, and we there learn that the 2nd of April was on a *Thursday*. This, then, agrees with the narratives of the New Testament, for the evangelists tell us that the Crucifixion occurred on a Friday, and that the paschal supper was eaten the evening before, that is, on a *Thursday*. According to the foregoing rules, the Passover did actually fall in A.D. 33 upon a Thursday. It is stated by Mr. Mannⁱ, in his Essay on the time of our Saviour's Passion, (and the assertion, so far as I am aware, is correct,) that the paschal feast did not fall on a Thursday from A.D. 26 (exclusive) to A.D. 35 (inclusive), except in the year A.D. 33. What is the result? That

^b 1 Diss. 357, first Ed. De Morgan, in his Book of Almanacks, appears to make the full moon at Jerusalem occur two hours later; but the latter work does not profess to give the exact time within a couple of hours.

ⁱ De anno emortuali, &c.

the year A.D. 33, and no other, was the year in which our Saviour was crucified.

Our Lord's crucifixion has thus been referred to the Passover of A.D. 33, from a careful comparison of historical data, without the least reference to the fulfilment of prophecy, which of course could not be allowed to accomplish itself by influencing our view of the current of events. Having arrived, however, at the above conclusion, upon perfectly independent principles, we may confirm the result by pointing out in how striking a manner the prediction of the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel is fulfilled upon this hypothesis. The prophecy is one of the most remarkable in holy Scripture, both from the definite manner in which the periods of years are marked, and the certainty with which the point from which they commence can be ascertained. The words of the prophet are as follows:—

1. “*Seventy weeks* are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

2. “Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks and 62 weeks.

3. “(In the seven weeks) the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in perilous times.

4. “And after the 62 weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for Himself; and (thereafter) the people of

the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the *sanctuary*, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

5. "And *the one week* shall confirm the covenant with many^k, and in the midst of the week, (or in the half of the week, 'Εν τῷ ἡμίσει ἐβδομάδος, Septuagint,) he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.

6. "And (thenceforth) for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate^l."

The weeks are of course weeks of years, and thus we have 7 weeks, or 49 years, for the rebuilding of the city; then an interval of 62 weeks, or 434 years; and then the last week, or a compass of 7 years, during which the prophet tells us, 1. That the new covenant should be introduced; 2. That in the middle of the week, or, according to the Septuagint, in the half, i. e. the latter half of the week, the Messiah should cause the ceremonial law of Moses to cease; and 3. That at the end of the week, being the end also of the 70 weeks, the Messiah should be cut off, not for Himself, but as an atonement for the sins of mankind.

It will be observed that the decree from which the 70 weeks, or 490 years, are to be reckoned, is not the decree to rebuild the *sanctuary*, but to restore the *street and wall* of Jerusalem. The decree of Cyrus to the Jews was to rebuild the temple^m, and the decree of Darius the Mede was to the same effectⁿ, and the temple was rebuilt and

^k Καὶ δυνατώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἐβδομάς μιὰ. Sept.

^l Dan. ix. 24.

^m Ezra i. 2.

ⁿ Ezra vi. 1.

finished accordingly°. But after this, Artaxerxes, in the 7th year of his reign, issued a decree to Ezra to establish *Jerusalem as a city*, by appointing magistrates and judges, with the power of inflicting capital punishment^p; and this included the rebuilding of the street, and also of the wall, for Ezra tells us that God had “extended mercy unto them in the sight of the kings of Persia . . . to give them *a wall* in Judah and in Jerusalem^q.” The decree, therefore, to which the prophet refers is that of Artaxerxes, (as indeed all commentators agree,) and we have now to investigate the precise time at which it was issued. Ezra tells us that “the first day of the first month (Nisan) was the foundation of the going up^r from Babylon^s,” and that this was in the *seventh year* of the reign of Artaxerxes^t. When, then, did Artaxerxes begin to reign? We have some light upon this from Scripture itself, and we shall refer to it before we cite the heathen writers. We have seen that the Nisan in question was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes; and Ezra tells us in another place^u that the fifth month or Ab was also in the seventh year, so that he did not ascend the throne at any time between Nisan and Ab, that is, between April and August. Again, Nehemiah informs us that Chisleu, or December, was in the 20th year of Artaxerxes^x, and that the month of Nisan was also in the 20th year^y, so that Artaxerxes did not commence his reign at any time during the interval between Nisan or April, and Chisleu or December; and putting the testimonies of Ezra and Nehe-

° Ezra vi. 15. ^p Ezra vii. 25. ^q Ezra ix. 9; and see Nehem. i. 3.

^r Marginal reading for “began to go up,” in the text.

^s Ezra vii. 9.

^t Ezra vii. 7.

^u Ezra vii. 8.

^x Nehem. i. 1.

^y Nehem. ii. 1

miah together, Artaxerxes could only have come to the throne some time between Ab and Chisleu, i. e. between August and December.

But in what *year* did this occur? Thucydides, the most accurate of historians, and the contemporary of Artaxerxes himself, states in his immortal work, the Peloponnesian War, that when the summer half of the seventh year of the war, i. e. B.C. 425, was ended^a, and the winter half had set in^b, an envoy from Persia was intercepted and brought to Athens, and that the Athenians thereupon sent an embassy to Ephesus, where they heard that Artaxerxes was just dead^b. From this account it is evident that the Athenian envoys heard the news at Ephesus about December, so that the death of Artaxerxes had occurred about the month of November. Now Diodorus Siculus states that Artaxerxes reigned 40 years^c, and he afterwards repeats the same thing without any variation^d; and as all history harmonizes with the fact, we may safely assume it. If we reckon back these 40 years from November B.C. 425, it will carry us to November B.C. 465, as the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes, which agrees with the inferences from the passages noticed in Scripture, that he mounted the throne some time between August and December. The seventh

^a Καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα. iv. 49.

^b Τοῦδ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος. iv. 50.

^b Οἱ πυθόμενοι αὐτόθι βασιλεία Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν,) ἐπ' οἴκοι ἀνεχώρησαν. iv. 50.

^c Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἐβασίλευσεν ἕτη τεσσαράκοντα. xi. 69.

^d Ἀρταξέρξης δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἕτη τεσσαράκοντα. xii. 64.

year of the reign would therefore be from November B.C. 459, to November B.C. 458. The decree consequently would be dated the 1st Nisan, B.C. 458, that day being stated as "the foundation of the going up from Babylon^e." The prophet therefore predicts that during 7 weeks, or 49 years, from Nisan, B.C. 458, the street and wall of Jerusalem should be built (as it was) in troublous times; that an interval of 62 weeks, or 434 years, should then intervene; and after that should commence the last week, which should bring in the covenant, set aside the law of Moses, and witness the cutting off of the Messiah. The 7 weeks and 62 weeks make together 483 years, and reckoning them from the month of Nisan B.C. 458, we come to the month of Nisan A.D. 26, as the commencement of the last week. Was then the prophecy fulfilled? In the course of that week, viz. from Nisan A.D. 26, to Nisan A.D. 33, the covenant was confirmed to many, first by John the Baptist, and then by our Saviour. "In the midst of the week," i. e. in October, A.D. 29, being just three years and six months from the commencement of the week, or seven years, Jesus began to preach the new dispensation, which was to supersede the sacrifices and oblations, and this ministry of Christ was continued throughout the half, i. e. the latter half of the week, viz. for three years and six months, measured from October, A.D. 29, to the Passover, A.D. 33. And lastly and chiefly, at the Passover of A.D. 33, being the end of this half-week, and also the expiration exactly of the 70 weeks, or 490 years, the Messiah was cut off, and the typical sacrifices of the law were concluded and deter-

^e Ezra vii. 9.

mined by the real sacrifice of Christ, once offered for the sins of the whole world.

From that time forth the Jews were from year to year oppressed more and more by the Romans, until they were driven to arms against their masters, and eventually "the abomination of desolation," spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stood in the holy sanctuary, and the city was destroyed.

CHAPTER III.

THE TIME OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST ARRIVAL AT CORINTH.

WE now propose to investigate some of the leading dates in the life of St. Paul, as 1. The year of the conversion ; 2. The time of his visit to Jerusalem, at the martyrdom of James, the brother of John, Acts xi. 30 ; 3. The date of his arrival at Corinth on the first occasion, Acts xviii. 1 ; 4. The time of his visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested in the temple ; and 5. The date of his release from imprisonment at Rome.

This is the order in which the events followed each other, but it will be necessary in our discussion to commence with the third question, viz. What was the date of Paul's arrival at Corinth at his first visit ? as on the result of this will depend the year to which the conversion must be referred.

When all our inquiries have been answered, the harmony of the whole will be the strongest argument in support of each particular part ; but at present, as we cannot shew the probability of Paul's arrival at Corinth at a certain time by assuming any given date of his history anterior or subsequent, we must break ground by

an appeal to independent circumstances, peculiarly and exclusively applicable to the arrival itself.

We have two notes of time in the account of Paul's visit to Corinth, which may furnish us with a clue to the period of its occurrence. First, when Paul reached Corinth, he found there Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, "just (*προσφάτως*) come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that *Claudius* had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome^p;" and Secondly, towards the end of Paul's sojourn at Corinth (which was a year and a half^q), Gallio was appointed proconsul of Achaia.

1. Expulsion from Rome was generally resorted to as a measure of security, and was enforced against a particular class of inhabitants when the nation to which they belonged was either in open rebellion, or was under grievous suspicion. Thus, when Varus lost his legions in Gaul, Augustus immediately issued a proclamation that all Gauls should depart from Rome^r. As the edict against the Jews was promulgated by Claudius, whose reign was from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, we have then to look for some outbreak of the Jews against the Roman authority during this interval, and such we find in the histories of both Josephus and Tacitus. The former tells us that during the procuratorship of Cumanus, some Galileans, in passing through Samaria, on their way *to the feast* at Jerusalem, were intercepted by the Samaritans and slain. The Galileans flew to Cumanus for justice, but the procurator, having been bribed by the Samaritans, slighted their remonstrances. Upon this the multitudes assembled at Jerusalem for *the feast*, determined on taking

^p Acts xviii. 2.

^q Acts xviii. 11.

^r Dion, lvi. 23.

reprisals into their own hands, and marching down into Samaria and joining their bands to Eleazar, a noted bandit, who had been proscribed by the Romans, sacked and burnt some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus hastened down with horse and foot, and an engagement took place. Some of the Romans were slain^a, but in the end the Jews were defeated, many killed, and more taken prisoners. Judæa, if not now in open rebellion, was expected momentarily to be so. Josephus calls it "a revolt" (*ἀπόστασις*), Ant. xx. 6, 3; and Tacitus says it was a miracle that the whole province was not in flames, Tac. Ann. xii. 54. Quadratus, the prefect of Syria, marched with his forces to Samaria, where he summoned the Jews and Samaritans before him, and investigated the cause of the disturbance, executed those whom Cumanus had taken, and then adjourned the hearing till he should reach Judæa. Some time after he proceeded to Lydda, where the trial was resumed, and the result was that further executions took place, and Cumanus, and Celer his tribune, were sent in chains to Rome, to plead before Claudius. After this, Quadratus marched to Jerusalem, to check any similar outbreak, and was present at the feast of the *Passover*^t. It is evident from this narrative, that the feast at which the Jews had marched into Samaria, and joined their forces to the bandit Eleazar, was the preceding feast, and therefore the feast of Tabernacles. In what year then did this occur? Josephus informs us that Cumanus and Celer, who had been sent to Rome by Quadratus, were con-

^a Cæsi milites, Tac. Ann. xii. 54.

^t Jos. Bell. ii. 12, 6; Ant. xx. 6, 1.

demned, after trial, the one to banishment, and the other to death, and then subjoins, “and Claudius also sends Felix, the brother of Pallas (*vice Cumanus*), to take the command of affairs in Judæa; and *having now completed his 12th year*, he invests Agrippa with the tetrarchy,” &c.¹ The banishment of Cumanus, and the appointment of Felix, was therefore a little before the completion of Claudius’s 12th year. But the 12th year of his reign expired on the 25th January A.D. 53. Cumanus and Celer, therefore, had been sent by Quadratus to Rome in A.D. 52, and at the Passover of that year Quadratus had been at Jerusalem, and the outbreak of the Jews had occurred at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51. This inference from the account of Josephus is fully confirmed by the narrative of Tacitus, who places the trial of Cumanus before Claudius, and the pacification of the province by the intervention of Quadratus, in the consulship of Faustus Sulla and Salvius Otho, that is, in the year A.D. 52^m; and if so, the revolt of Judæa must be referred to the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51. Upon the concurrent testimony, therefore, of Josephus and Tacitus, we may place the disturbances in Judæa at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51, i. e. on the 8th day of October of that year; and assuming this to be so, intelligence of the rebellion would reach Rome in December, and Claudius, whose timidity of character is notorious,

¹ Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος Φήλικα Πάλλαντος ἀδελφόν (*vice Cumanii*) τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων· Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκῶς δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ, &c. Ant. xx. 7, 1.

^m Tac. Ann. xii. 54.

would follow up the news by a summary order for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome.

Josephus, out of tenderness, perhaps, to his countrymen, has passed over this edict in silence, but, if we mistake not, there are some traces of it to be found in Tacitus. In the very first chapter relating to the events of A.D. 52, occurs the following passage: "A decree was passed (as violent as it was *nugatory*) for the expulsion of the Chaldeans (*Mathematici*) from Italy^a." And if the *Jews* were connected with the Chaldeans by Tacitus, whose ignorance, at least on this part of the Jewish history, is very remarkable^o, the expulsion referred to by St. Luke, in the Acts, is confirmed by the heathen historian. It is singular that the two edicts, unless they were identical, should both have been issued at the same moment. They both also agree in this particular, that Tacitus calls the decree, mentioned by him, "*nugatory*," and we know that the order of Claudius, referred to by Luke, was not long in force, for the Jews soon returned to the capital, and lived there in the same freedom as before.

The edict, then, against the Jews was promulgated about December A.D. 51; and if so, Aquila would reach Corinth about the end of January A.D. 52, and as Paul came thither just after him, we may place his arrival (to name a particular day) about the 1st of February A.D. 52.

2. Let us now examine how far this date is consistent with the other note of time, viz. the proconsulship of

^a De Mathematicis Italiâ pellendis factum senatus-consultum atrox et irritum. Tac. Ann. xii. 52. See Suet. Tib. 36.

^o Compare Tac. Ann. xii. 54, with Jos. Bell. ii. 12, 3; Ant. xx. 6. 1.

Gallio. The sojourn of Paul at Corinth, altogether, was a year and six months^p, so that if he arrived at Corinth the 1st of February A.D. 52, his departure would be about the 1st of August A.D. 53, which would allow quite time enough for reaching Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles (as he intended) on the 16th September of that year^q. Gallio had been some little time (*ἡμέρας ἱκάνας*, Acts xviii. 18) in office when Paul left, so that Gallio would probably come to Corinth a little before midsummer A.D. 53, which would be the usual season of a proconsul's entrance into his province, the order being that the proconsuls should leave Rome by the 15th of April^r. Can we then collect from the few facts known of Gallio, the probability of his holding a province in A.D. 53, or, at least, can we shew that such an event has no improbability attached to it? The advancement of Gallio must be ascribed to the influence of his brother Seneca. In the very first year of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41, Seneca was banished^s, and remained in disgrace until A.D. 49, and it is unlikely that during this interval Gallio would have enjoyed the imperial favour, while his brother was in exile. But in A.D. 49, Agrippina, who had just married Claudius, endeavoured to make herself popular by the recall of Seneca, and procured also at the same time his nomination to

^p Ἐκάθισέ τε ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἐξ διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Acts xviii. 11.

^q Paul sailed from Philippi *after* the expiration of the Passover, for the purpose of reaching Jerusalem at the Pentecost, the 50th day from the 2nd day of the seven days of unleavened bread. He thus allowed himself only forty-four days from Philippi to Jerusalem; and twice on the road, viz. at Troas and Tyre, he tarried a whole week.

^r Dion, lx. 17.

^s Dion, lx. 8.

the prætorship, *Veniam exilii pro Annæo Senecâ, simul Præturam impetrat*, Tac. Ann. xii. 8. The elections for the prætorship were in the autumn, and the prætors entered upon office the 1st of January following. Now if Gallio, as well as Seneca, had been nominated to the prætorship at Seneca's return, it is scarcely possible that Tacitus should not have mentioned it. Neither is it likely that Seneca, immediately on his own recall, and before he had established his influence at court, should have exerted himself to obtain the prætorship for his brother. It is improbable, therefore, that Gallio was amongst those elected in A.D. 49, and if so, he would not be in actual office as prætor for the year A.D. 50. But there is no objection to the hypothesis that Seneca's influence led to the nomination of Gallio to the prætorship in the autumn of A.D. 50, so that he might be actual prætor for the year A.D. 51. It was an inflexible rule of Claudius, and founded on the justest principles, that no two offices should be held consecutively, but that, on the expiration of any magistracy, there should at least be an interval of a year, during which the *functus officio* should be at Rome, and ready to answer any accusations that might be brought against him for maladministration†. If Gallio then was prætor in A.D. 51, he was at Rome during A.D. 52, but in A.D. 53 he was capable of taking a province, and his brother Seneca, being then at the height of his popularity, might, with every probability in its favour, have secured for him the proconsulship of Achaia. It is clear that Gallio in the following year, A.D. 54, was *not* in Achaia, but

† Dion, lx. 25.

at Rome, as we find him exerting his wit there on the subject of the death of Claudius^a. Assuming, then, that Gallio was proconsul for the year A.D. 53, he would leave Rome about the middle of April, and arrive at Corinth, as we have supposed, a little before midsummer A.D. 53, a month or two before Paul's departure.

Having thus fixed the arrival of Paul at Corinth in A.D. 52, let us trace forward the apostle's history, to see the bearings of this hypothesis upon the date of his visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested in the temple, and which in a future discussion will be referred to the time of the Pentecost in A.D. 58. If Paul came to Corinth on the 1st of February A.D. 52, it follows that he quitted it, after a year and six months, on the 1st of August A.D. 53, and was at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, the 16th of September in the same year. He then went down to Antioch, and, after staying a little time there, *χρόνον τινα*, Acts xviii. 23, passed through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus. On his way to Jerusalem, he had promised the Ephesians to return to them after the feast of Tabernacles, so that he would probably arrive at Ephesus in the spring of A.D. 54. He sojourned there three years, *τριετίαν*, Acts xx. 31, and left, sometime between the Passover and Pentecost, 1 Cor. v. 7, xvi. 8, in the year A.D. 57, and remained during the winter at Corinth, for the space of three months, *μηνας τρεῖς*, Acts xx. 3. At the Passover of the following year, A.D. 58, he was at Philippi, Acts xx. 6: so that if we can establish, on independent grounds, that Paul was at Corinth the first time in A.D. 52, it results that he was

^a Dion, lx. 35.

at Philippi at the Passover of A.D. 58; and that Paul was at Philippi in A.D. 58, we shall shew hereafter, by a perfectly different chain of reasoning. On the other hand, if we can prove, as we shall, that Paul was at Philippi at the Passover of A.D. 58, we have only to reckon backwards to arrive at the conclusion that Paul reached Corinth, on the first occasion, early in A.D. 52. Thus either date supports the other, and one being conceded, the other will follow.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DATE OF ST. PAUL'S CONVERSION.

THIS question depends altogether on a passage in the Galatians. St. Paul, in speaking of the great mercy of God in having wrought his miraculous conversion, tells us, that immediately afterwards he went into Arabia, and returned to Damascus: "Then," he proceeds, "after three years, I went up to Jerusalem," *ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, i. 18; "Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem," *ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, ii. 1. We have here, then, two consecutive periods of three years and fourteen years, making together seventeen years, between the conversion and this second visit to Jerusalem. Now this second visit, which fell after an interval of seventeen years from his conversion, can be no other than that which we have placed at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, and if so, then, reckoning backward the seventeen years, we shall arrive at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36; about which period, then, we should place the martyrdom of Stephen, and the persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem, and then the conversion of St. Paul on his way to Damascus.

The circumstances of the time presented a most favourable opportunity for the exercise of these severities against the Church. Pilate, in A.D. 36, had made a merciless massacre of the Samaritans, and a complaint had been lodged against him before Vitellius, the governor of Syria, who was now at Antioch, having just arrived from the Euphrates, where he had concluded peace with the Parthians. Pilate was ordered by Vitellius to meet the charge, and probably, for this purpose, quitted Jerusalem to defend himself personally at Antioch. The result was, that Pilate was deposed by Vitellius, and ordered to Rome, and Marcellus, a friend of Vitellius, was commissioned to superintend the affairs of Judæa until a successor should be appointed. Pilate appears to have set sail in the winter of A.D. 36, for he did not reach Rome until after the death of Tiberius, which occurred on the 16th March A.D. 37^x. The Jews were always on the watch for an occasion of escaping from the pressure of the Roman yoke, and more particularly of exercising their independence by religious persecution for any supposed breach of their law,—and what more convenient juncture could be expected to offer itself than the present? Pilate was in trouble about himself, and not likely to interfere in matters of a religious, and not a political, character, and there is no improbability in the conjecture that Pilate was even absent from Jerusalem in attendance upon the governor of Syria, and that Marcellus, the *locum tenens*, had not yet arrived at the Jewish capital. It was just such an opportunity

^x Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2.

when an outbreak of popular feeling would hurry Stephen to the death enacted by the law for blasphemy, and when the zeal of Saul, unchecked by the civil power, would pour out the vials of wrath upon the detested but unoffending followers of Jesus of Nazareth.

Some chronologers, as Greswell, have referred the martyrdom of Stephen to the feast of Pentecost A.D. 37, at which time the Jews were again under great temptations to commit a similar outrage. Vitellius had visited Jerusalem at the Passover of that year, and was returning thence to Antioch, when he very unexpectedly received orders from Tiberius, the patron of Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee, to march against Aretas, king of Petra, who had lately declared war against Antipas, and defeated him or his general in a pitched battle. Vitellius, on receipt of this despatch, led back his forces on his way to Petra, and went up with Antipas to Jerusalem, and was there at the feast of Pentecost, on the 9th of May. Four days after the feast came the news of the death of Tiberius, when Vitellius, whose heart rankled with revenge against Antipas, for an affront offered him the year before on the Euphrates, turned his back on the tetrarch and retired to Antioch. The Jews were now left to themselves. Marcellus may have been still the *locum tenens*, but no regular successor to Pilate had yet arrived. The prefect of Syria was at Antioch, and Tiberius, whose severity they had dreaded, was dead^r. Under such a fortunate combination of circumstances, the Jews might well rush upon their prey, and vent their smothered fury upon Stephen, the most zealous of their enemies.

^r Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3.

If this hypothesis appear the more probable, it may be adopted. Whether Stephen suffered at the Tabernacles of A.D. 36, or at the Pentecost of A.D. 37, cannot, in the author's judgment, be determined with any degree of certainty, but that the martyrdom occurred within these limits can hardly be questioned. Either hypothesis will harmonize with the conclusion established in the preceding chapter, viz. that Paul's return to Jerusalem, after his first visit to Corinth, was at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53. If, indeed, we assume the three years and the fourteen years, mentioned in the Galatians, and making together 17 years, to mean 17 complete years, then, if Paul arrived at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, his conversion would be 17 years before Christ, at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36. But this construction of the apostle's words, "then after *three years*" (ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία, Gal. i. 18), is by no means necessary; for, according to the Greek idiom, μετὰ ἔτη τρία, "after three years," may mean, not after the expiration of three full years, but in the course of the third year current. Thus, "after 40 days," μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, in Bell. i. 16, 2, is rendered by Josephus in the Antiquities, "on the 40th day," εἰς τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν, Ant. xiv. 15, 4. So "after two years," μετὰ ἔτη δύο, Bell. i. 13, 1, is rendered in the Antiquities, "and in the second year," Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει, &c., Ant. xiv. 13, 3. The 17th year from the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, reckoned backward, would be from the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36, to the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 37, and whether Stephen suffered at the close of A.D. 36, or in the first half of A.D. 37, the arrival of Paul at Jerusalem at the

feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, would equally be said to occur after 17 years.

It is not an uncommon opinion, and therefore we notice it, that not only the three years, but also *the fourteen years*, are to be dated from the time of St. Paul's *conversion*; but this is not the natural sense, and cannot be adopted without absolute necessity. Supposing, however, that the language itself offered no objection, the assumption could not be made to harmonize with the facts. Thus, if the voyage from Corinth to Jerusalem be placed, as it must be, at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, 14 years before that would carry us to the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 39, as the time of the conversion. Paul visited Jerusalem three years after his conversion, Gal. i. 18, which would therefore be in A.D. 42, and we shall shew presently, as a date to be received without the least question, that he was again at Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 44. Now in this interval of two years, from A.D. 42 to A.D. 44, occurred the following events. Paul, after attempting to preach at Jerusalem, was obliged to leave it, and was sent by the disciples to Tarsus, where he sojourned, Acts ix. 30; the Churches had an interval of rest, Acts ix. 31; Peter made a general circuit, (*διὰ πάντων*,) Acts ix. 32; Cornelius was called at Cæsarea, Acts x.; Peter returned to Jerusalem, and a council was held on the subject of the admission of the Gentiles, Acts xi. 1; the gospel was preached to the Greeks at Antioch, Acts xi. 19; the Church of Jerusalem heard of it, and sent Barnabas thither, Acts xi. 22; Barnabas went on to Tarsus, and brought Saul back with him, Acts xi. 25; Saul and Barnabas

remained at Antioch *a whole year*, ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον, Acts xi. 26; Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem before the Passover, A.D. 44. Now these events are far too numerous to be compressed within the space of two years only, and if so, Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, after his conversion, could not have been in the year A.D. 42; that is, his conversion could not have been three years before, in A.D. 39; in which year however it must be placed if the 14 years before his visit in A.D. 53 were dated from the conversion, and not from the expiration of the three years.

It follows that the three years and the 14 years of the Galatians must be distinct and consecutive periods, and, the first visit to Jerusalem after the conversion being in A.D. 39, the conversion itself must be carried back three years earlier, viz. to the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 36, or the feast of Pentecost, A.D. 37.

CHAPTER V.

THE TIME OF THE VISIT OF PAUL AND BARNABAS TO JERUSALEM, WHEN THEY WERE SENT UP WITH THE ALMS FROM THE ANTIOCHIAN CHURCH.

THE circumstances of this visit are familiar to all. Agabus, a member of the Jerusalem Church, and who had lately come down with some others to Antioch, predicted that a general famine was at hand, and therefore the Antiochian converts made a charitable collection amongst themselves for the relief of their poorer brethren at Jerusalem, and forwarded it by the hands of Paul and Barnabas. The two envoys arrived at Jerusalem just before a Passover. Herod Agrippa, probably while Paul and Barnabas were at Jerusalem, slew James the brother of John, and furthermore cast Peter into prison, with the view of putting him also to death, after the Passover. Agrippa, when the feast was ended, went down to Cæsarea, and there abode, *διέτριβεν*, Acts xii. 19, and not long after died suddenly in the theatre.

We have here two notes of time in connection with the journey of Paul and Barnabas,—first, the famine; and secondly, the death of Agrippa. Luke tells us that the famine came to pass in the reign of Claudius, Acts xi. 28, and therefore after the 24th of January A.D. 41, when

Claudius ascended the throne, and before the 13th of October A.D. 54, when Claudius died. Josephus speaks of the same famine, and states that it occurred under the procuratorships of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander². Cuspius Fadus was appointed in the latter half of A.D. 44, and was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander in A.D. 46. The famine, therefore, may have commenced, according to Josephus, in the latter part of A.D. 44; but apparently it had begun to be felt somewhat earlier, for Cuspius Fadus was sent to Judæa in the latter half of A.D. 44, in the place of Agrippa, who had lately died; and in the lifetime of Agrippa, and therefore probably not later than midsummer A.D. 44, the Syrians and Sidonians had arrived at Cæsarea, to make peace with Agrippa, "because their country was nourished by the king's country^a." They were evidently straitened at this time for provisions from the prevailing scarcity. These notices of the famine therefore would lead us to the conclusion, that, as Paul and Barnabas came up from Antioch to Jerusalem in *anticipation* of a famine, and just before a certain Passover, this Passover could be none other than that of A.D. 44.

But we shall arrive at this date with greater certainty by adverting to the other circumstance connected with the apostle's visit, viz. the death of Agrippa.

The account in the Acts runs: "And he (Agrippa) went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and there abode, (καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν). And Herod was highly displeased with them

² Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ (Fadus and Alexander) καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γένεσθαι. Ant. xx. 5, 2.

^a Acts xii. 20.

of Tyre and Sidon," &c., when follow the particulars of his death in the theatre^b. The awful circumstances related by St. Luke were evidently so close after the Passover, as to force themselves from their proximity into the sacred narrative, though the writer had been treating of different matters. The words ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν, do not imply any length of time, and should more properly have been rendered "was sojourning there," when the Tyrians and Sidonians implored his clemency, &c.

Agrippa, it is manifest, never returned again to Jerusalem, so that he could not have long survived the Passover, for he was a rigid observer of the law of Moses, and would have deemed it a heinous sin not to attend the regular festivals. Accident or illness might lead to his absence from some one of the feasts, as the next Pentecost, but he must have worshipped again at Jerusalem before the Passover of the following year. His death, then, may probably be placed after an interval of two or three months, at the most, from the Passover when Paul and Barnabas were present with him at Jerusalem. In what year, then, did this occur? The answer will be found in Josephus. He mentions that Agrippa, at his death, had completed the third year of his reign over all *Judæa*: τρίτον ἔτος αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, Ant. xix. 8, 2; βεβασιλευκῶς μὲν ἔτη τριά, Bell. ii. 11, 6; and that he had reigned seven years, reckoned from the time of his appointment as king of *Trachonitis*, ἄγων τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδομον τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς, τῆς μὲν Φιλίππου τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν

^b Acts xii. 19.

ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, Ant. xix. 8, 2. Now Agrippa was made king of all *Judæa* by Claudius not long after his accession, and as Claudius succeeded Caligula on the 24th of January A.D. 41, the appointment of Agrippa may have taken place in February or March, and three years from that time would bring us to February or March A.D. 44; but as at his death Agrippa had *completed* three years, he lived somewhat longer. Again, Agrippa was made king of *Trachonitis* by Caligula, soon after the latter came to the throne. Tiberius died either on the 16th of March, A.D. 37, Tac. Ann. vi. 50, or on the 26th of March, A.D. 37, Dion. lviii. 28. Caligula was then in Campania, but he celebrated the funeral at Rome, Just. Calig. 13; and a few days after the ceremony, and therefore some time in April, he created Agrippa king of *Trachonitis*. Counting, then, seven years from April A.D. 37, as the commencement of Agrippa's reign, we arrive at April A.D. 44 as the completion of the 7th year. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the death of Agrippa must be placed in A.D. 44, and not long after the Passover, which was on the 31st of March.

This conclusion is confirmed by a circumstance mentioned by Josephus. Agrippa, the Jewish historian tells us, died during the celebration of some games "in honour of Claudius, for his safety," εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, Ant. xix. 8, 2. I know

Ἐ Γαίος δ' ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην παρῆν, ἄγων τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς νόμοις πατρίοις. Ἀγρίππαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν λύειν ὄντα πρόθυμον, κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν. Διελθούσων μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν. . . . βασιλεία καθίστησι αὐτὸν. Ant. xviii. 6, 10.

not what this can refer to but the safe return of Claudius from Britain to Rome, in January A.D. 44, after a six months' absence. Great festivities were everywhere celebrated on the occasion, and no doubt when the news reached Judæa, which would be about April, the same mark of respect would be paid to him by Agrippa. Claudius being not only a patron of the Jews generally, but of Agrippa in particular, upon whom he had conferred the kingdom of Judæa, what more likely than that Agrippa, when he heard of the emperor's return, should be present at games "in honour of the Cæsar, for his safety," *εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ*. The death of Agrippa, on this hypothesis, and allowing some time for the preparations for the festival, would be about May, A.D. 44, and if so, the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem would be, as we have stated, a little before the Passover of the same year.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DATE OF ST. PAUL'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM WHEN HE WAS
ARRESTED IN THE TEMPLE.

WE refer this visit to the year A.D. 58, and we shall endeavour to establish this by shewing, first, That the visit cannot be placed in any earlier year than A.D. 58; 2. That it cannot be placed in any later year; and 3. That there are certain particulars belonging to this visit which characterize the year A.D. 58, but no other year.

First. This visit of Paul cannot be placed in any year earlier than A.D. 58.

It is clear that the arrival of Paul at the Jewish capital was subsequent to the rise of the *Sicarii*, and even to the later event of the disturbance caused by the *Egyptian prophet*. Lysias, in his hurried conversation with Paul on the stairs of Fort Antonia, alludes both to the *Sicarii* and the *Egyptian*: "Art not thou that Egyptian which, before these days, madest an uproar, and leddest out in the wilderness four thousand men of the *Sicarii*? (τῶν Σικαρίων^d)." At what period, then, did the *émeute* of the

^d. Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων. Acts **xxi.** 38.

Egyptian impostor occur? We learn from Josephus that it was in the time of Nero, and if we examine the events recorded by that historian under the reign of Nero, and preceding the appearance of the Egyptian prophet, we shall find that this impostor could not have made his attempt before the year A.D. 57. Nero began to reign on the 13th of October, A.D. 54, and the transactions in Judæa and the East during the time of Nero, (τὰ Ἰουδαίους κατ' αὐτὸν γεγόμενα, Bell. ii. 13, 1; and see Ant. xx. 8, 4), are enumerated in the following order:—

1. Nero makes Soemus king of Emesa, and gives the Lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, and extends the dominions of Agrippa, Ant. xx. 8, 4, Bell. ii. 13, 2.

2. Judæa is filled with bandits, and Felix is busy in extirpating them, πολλοὺς μὲν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν λαμβάνων, Ant. xx. 8, 4, till the country is cleared, Καθαρθείσης τῆς χώρας, Bell. ii. 13, 3. Eleazar, the arch-robber, who had defied the governors for 20 years, is captured and sent to Rome, Ant. x. 8, 5, Bell. ii. 13, 2. (The tranquillity thus produced is the peace for which Tertullus compliments Felix: πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ, Acts xxiv. 3.)

3. The rise of the Sicarii, or secret assassins, ἕτερον εἶδος ληστῶν, Bell. ii. 13, 3, chiefly at the great feasts. Jonathan, the high-priest, is their first victim, and as this passed over with impunity, the evil spreads. Ant. xx. 8, 5, Bell. ii. 13, 3. Observe, also, that Lysias speaks of 4,000 Sicarii, τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων, Acts xxi. 38. Some interval, therefore, had elapsed between the murder of Jonathan and the arrival of Paul,

or the name of Sicarii would not have been so familiar, or their number so great.

4. Religious impostors, *στίφος ἕτερον πονηρῶν*, Bell. ii. 13, 4, lead multitudes of followers into the desert, and Felix sends a force against them and disperses them, Ant. xx. 8, 6, Bell. ii. 13, 4.

5. The Egyptian prophet, *μείζονι ταύτης πληγῆς*, Bell. ii. 13, 5, arises and leads 4,000 followers (Acts xxi. 38) from Jerusalem into the desert, and afterwards returns at the head of 30,000 men to the Mount of Olives, to make a triumphal entry into Jerusalem, but Felix attacks them and kills many, but the Egyptian himself escapes, Ant. xx. 8, 6, Bell. ii. 13, 5. Lysias had not, improbably, been sent by Felix against the Egyptian, and this would account for his having the Egyptian so much in his thoughts, Acts xxi. 38.

The above events were not contemporaneous, but had followed each other, as in a broken constitution, no sooner was one disease cured than another shewed itself, *Κατεσταλμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι σώματι πάλιν ἕτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαινεν*, Bell. ii. 13, 6.

A less space than three years cannot be allowed for this series of transactions, and this will bring us to the 13th of October, A.D. 57. But Paul's arrival at Jerusalem was some time, say several months, after the attempt of the Egyptian, for Lysias speaks of it as having occurred "before these days," *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*, Acts xxi. 38. The arrival of the apostle, therefore, cannot be placed earlier than some time in the year A.D. 58.

Secondly. We shall shew that Paul's arrival at Jerusalem could not have been *later* than in A.D. 58.

Paul had been two years a prisoner at Cæsarea when Felix was succeeded by Festus, Acts xxiv. 27. The question then is, when was Felix recalled?

On Felix's return to Rome he was followed by an embassy of the Jews, to accuse him to the emperor, and he escaped condign punishment through the influence only of his brother Pallas, Ant. xx. 8, 9. But Pallas was taken off by poison in A.D. 62, Tac. Ann. xiv. 64, Dion. lxii. 14. The recall of Felix therefore, at least, could not have been later than the summer of A.D. 61, for Felix was certainly succeeded by Festus in some summer, and if it was the summer of A.D. 62, and not of A.D. 61, he could not have reached Rome in the lifetime of Pallas.

Neither could Felix have been recalled in the summer of A.D. 61, for if so, Paul also must have been sent by Festus from Cæsarea to Rome in the autumn of that year, and have reached Rome in the spring of A.D. 62. But when Paul arrived at Rome he was delivered to a single prefect of the Prætorium, τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ, Acts xxviii. 16, and not to prefects, in the plural. Now Burrhus had been the single prefect for ten years and upwards, but at the very beginning of A.D. 62 Burrhus died, and from that time *two* prefects were appointed in his place. Paul, therefore, must have reached Rome in an earlier year than A.D. 62; and if so, he must have sailed from Cæsarea in an earlier year than A.D. 61. Consequently, Felix also, who was succeeded by Festus in the summer of the year in which Paul sailed, must have been recalled before the year A.D. 61.

Felix then must have been displaced in A.D. 60; and if so, as Paul was a prisoner for two years, he could not have been apprehended in the temple later than in A.D. 58.

We have assumed that Burrhus died at the very beginning of A.D. 62, and this will appear from the detail of events related by Tacitus, as occurring between the 1st of January and the 9th of June of that year.

The only facts recorded by Tacitus *before* the death of Burrhus, are the accusations against Antistius and Veiento, Tac. Ann. xiv. 48—51. But the occurrences between the death of Burrhus, and the death of Octavia on the 9th of June of the same year, are such as to require all the space that can be allowed them, even on the supposition that Burrhus died some time in the month of January. The events of this year up to the 9th of June are thus given:—

Antistius and Veiento are accused, Tac. Ann. xiv. 48, 50.	}	Jan.
The death of Burrhus		
Seneca loses his power in consequence, xiv. 51, 52.	}	Feb.
He is accused before Nero, and defends himself, xiv. 53.		
Rufus Feniis falls into disgrace, xiv. 57.		
Tigellinus, his colleague, urges the death of Sulla in Gaul, and Plautus in Asia, xiv. 57.	}	Mar.
Sulla is executed in Gaul, and his head brought to Rome, xiv. 57; and Plautus is put to death in Asia, and his head also brought to Rome, xiv. 59.		
This voyage from Rome to Asia and back must have occupied a considerable time, the more so, as the report of the plot against Plautus reached him, in Asia, before his executioners arrived.	}	and April.
The Senate pass a vote of thanks to Nero, xiv. 59.		

Divorce of Octavia, xiv. 60.

Nero's marriage with Poppœa, xiv. 60, 12 days after
the divorce, Suet. Nero, 35.

Murmurs of the people at the usage of Octavia,
Tac. Ann. xiv. 60.

Octavia recalled from Campania, xiv. 60.

Rejoicings of the people, xiv. 60.

} May.

Octavia banished to Pandateria, xiv. 61.

Some days after (*paucis interjectis diebus*) Octavia
is put to death, xiv. 62.

This was on the same day as the death of Nero, and
therefore on the 9th of June, Suet. Nero, 57.

} June.

We leave the reader to judge from this table, whether Burrhus could have survived the month of January, and have been still alive when Paul reached Rome, at the end of February.

Thirdly. There are arguments which will evince that Paul arrived at Jerusalem in the year A.D. 58, and not in any other year. Let the reader attend to the following remarkable coincidence. Paul had originally purposed to sail direct from Corinth to Judæa, but an ambush was laid against him, and he was obliged to go round by Macedonia. This circuit caused considerable delay, and he was under the necessity of making all haste, in order to reach Jerusalem at the Pentecost, "*if it were possible,*" (*εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῶ,*) Acts xx. 16. He arrived at Philippi just before the Passover, and stayed till it was over. He then sailed for Troas, which he reached on the 5th day. He tarried there seven days, and the last was a Sunday, on which he preached, before departing on the Monday. Ἡμεῖσδε ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε, οὗ διε-

τρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, &c., Acts xx. 6. Now in A.D. 58, the day of the paschal sacrifices and supper, the first of the eight days' feast, fell on Monday the 27th of March, (beginning at 6 p.m. of the evening before), and the last day of the feast was Monday the 3rd of April. Paul, therefore, started on Tuesday, the 4th of April, and reached Troas on Sunday, the 9th of April, and stayed a week there, and preached at Troas on Sunday the 16th of April.

Now every year about this time, except the year A.D. 58, presents features at variance with the fact mentioned by Luke, that Paul spent the Sunday, being the 13th day after leaving Philippi, in Troas. To have done this, Paul must have sailed from Philippi on a Tuesday, and this Tuesday must have been at the conclusion of a Passover. The following table will shew how little any year but A.D. 58 will answer the requisitions:—

A.D.	Passover begins.	Passover ends.
53	March 22, Thursday.	March 29, <i>Thursday</i> .
54	April 10, Wednesday.	April 17, <i>Wednesday</i> .
55	March 30, Sunday.	April 6, <i>Sunday</i> .
56	March 19, Friday.	March 26, <i>Friday</i> .
57	April 7, Thursday.	April 14, <i>Thursday</i> .
58	March 27, Monday.	April 3, <i>Monday</i> .
59	April 15, Sunday.	April 22, <i>Sunday</i> .
60	April 4, Friday.	April 11, <i>Friday</i> °.

The years that agree best after A.D. 58 are the years A.D. 55 and A.D. 59, in which the Passover ended on a Sunday, and then, if Paul remained one day at Philippi, and started on the following day, viz. Tuesday, he would

° For the feast-days in this table, see Greswell's Prolegomena; and for the week-days, see De Morgan's Book of Almanacks; and see upon the subject generally, Wieseler's Chronology, which the author in this chapter has, with little variation, adopted.

still be at Troas on Sunday, the 13th day after. But Paul could not have been at Philippi in A.D. 55, for then he would have reached Jerusalem at the Pentecost of the same year; but this could not have been the case, for the outbreak of the Egyptian had occurred, upon this hypothesis, some time, say six months, before, which is utterly at variance with the narrative of Josephus. Neither could Paul have started from Philippi in A.D. 59, for then he must have sailed from Cæsarea in A.D. 61, and have been delivered over in February, A.D. 62, to Burrhus, τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ, Acts xxviii. 16, but who had died the preceding month. We must conclude, therefore, upon the whole, that Paul's departure from Philippi, and arrival at Jerusalem, was in A.D. 58, and could have been in no other year.

There is also a further argument connected with the same subject, which is this. The apostle started from Philippi *after* the Passover, and arrived at Jerusalem *before* the day of Pentecost. What space of time then was consumed in the journey? The Pentecost was the 50th day from the second day (exclusively) of the feast of unleavened bread. We must deduct then the five last days of the feast of unleavened bread, during which Paul was still at Philippi, and the day of Pentecost itself, and we have remaining 44 days only. The enemies of Christianity have ventured on the assertion, that Paul could not possibly, between the Passover and Pentecost of any year, have accomplished the voyage from Philippi to Jerusalem; but although that proposition be untenable, we shall, nevertheless, be satisfied, from an inspection of the subjoined table, that the intermediate

space is fully occupied, and that Paul had not even a day to throw away. Now, in A.D. 58, no time would be wasted, but in every other year one or more days would be necessarily so. Thus, to explain our meaning more fully, the apostle's voyage from Philippi to Troas occupied five days, and he stayed at Troas seven days, and the last day was a *Sunday*, when *Paul* preached. He must, therefore, have started from Philippi on a *Tuesday*. In A.D. 58 the Passover ended on a *Monday*, and if Paul quitted Philippi the next day, Tuesday, no part of the 44 days between the Passover and Pentecost was lost. But this would not be the case with any other year; thus, in A.D. 57, the Passover ended on a *Thursday*, and therefore, as Paul took his departure on a *Tuesday*, he would waste four days at Philippi between the close of the Passover and the commencement of his journey. Now, on this supposition, it is not *possible* that Paul could have reached Jerusalem before the day of Pentecost.

The following table will exhibit the course of Paul's voyage in A.D. 58, and the reader will collect from it that, to enable the apostle to reach Jerusalem before the Pentecost, he must have quitted Philippi the very day after the Passover :—

A.D. 58.

The Passover was on Monday, the 27th of March,
beginning from 6 p.m. of the preceding evening,
and ended on Monday, the 3rd of April, at 6 p.m.

Paul started on Tuesday, the 4th of April . . . April 4

In five days, (ἀχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε, xx. 6,) and therefore
on Sunday, he reached Troas, and remained seven
days, οὗ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά, xx. 6. . . . 8

On the last of the seven days, and therefore on Sunday, the 16th, Paul preached at Troas, xx. 7.	Apr. 16
On Monday, the 17th, he embarked at Troas, and reached Mitylene	17
Tuesday, the 18th, (τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, xx. 15,) to Chios	18
Wednesday, the 19th, (τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ, xx. 15,) to Samos	19
Thursday, the 20th, (τῇ ἐχομένῃ, xx. 15,) to Miletus, whence he sent off a dispatch to Ephesus, for the elders to come to him	20
Sunday, the 23rd, the elders arrived, and Paul addressed them, probably, through the night before his departure in the morning, as at Troas	23
Monday, the 24th, Paul embarked apparently at the close of his sermon, (see xx. 38,) and reached Cos	24
Tuesday, the 25th, (τῇ ἐξῆς, xxi. 1,) to Rhodes	25
Wednesday, the 26th, to Patara	26
Thursday, the 27th, Paul sailed direct for Tyre	27
Sunday, the 30th, Paul arrived at Tyre, where they stayed a week, ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, xxi. 4.	30
At the end of the seven days, that is, on Monday, when the Sabbath was over, (ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς ἑξαπίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας, xxi. 5,) Paul sailed to Acre.	May 8
At Acre, Paul stayed one day, (ἡμέραν μίαν, xxi. 7,) and on Wednesday, the 10th, (τῇ ἐπαύριον, xxi. 8,) to Cæsarea, whence intelligence was forwarded to Jerusalem	10
Sunday, the 14th, Agabus arrived from Jerusalem, and warned Paul of his danger	14
Monday, the 15th, Paul, having stayed at Cæsarea several days, ἡμέρας πλείους, xxi. 10, viz. five days, proceeded to Jerusalem, 75 miles distant	15
On Wednesday, the 17th, Paul reached Jerusalem, and the Pentecost began at 6 p.m.	16

There are several circumstances belonging to Paul's present visit to Jerusalem, which, though they may not prove, yet confirm, the hypothesis, that it occurred in the year A.D. 58. Thus, in the first place, Paul tells us that he had not been at Jerusalem before for several years, *δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλειόνων παρεγενόμην*, Acts xxiv. 17; and, according to the views which we have adopted, he had been last at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 53, nearly five years before. Again, when Paul was pleading before Felix, during this visit, he begins by alluding to the length of time during which Felix had been procurator: "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation," (*ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ*), Acts xxiv. 10. Felix had been appointed in A.D. 52, and as the usual time of office was two or three years, Paul might well speak of a period of six years, viz. from A.D. 52 to A.D. 58, as a prolonged administration.

Another argument does not lie so much on the surface. It is this. If the date of Paul's voyage from Greece to Jerusalem be placed, as it is by Greswell, in A.D. 56, then Paul had left Ephesus for Greece in the preceding year, or A.D. 55, and had arrived at Ephesus from Galatia three years before that, viz. in A.D. 52. That the Epistle to the Galatians was written after this second visit to Galatia is evident, for the apostle alludes to the first: "Ye know that through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you *the former time*;" (*τὸ πρότερον*), Galat. iv. 13, and it must, therefore, have been despatched after A.D. 52. It was also sent to them

during the observance of a sabbatic year: "Ye are observing days and months, and seasons and *years*," (*ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε, καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς*,) Galat. iv. 10, and therefore some time in A.D. 55. But, if so, three years would have elapsed since his last appearance amongst the Galatians. Now, several passages in the Epistle shew that Paul had left them *not long before*, thus: "I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed from the faith," &c., Galat. i.; and there are many other similar texts. The author had formerly adopted the date of A.D. 56, and found himself unable to reconcile this discrepancy, but assuming the date of Paul's visit to Jerusalem to be, not in A.D. 56, but in A.D. 58, the difficulty vanishes; for Paul, on this supposition, had quitted Ephesus for Greece in A.D. 57, and his arrival at Ephesus three years before, from Galatia, had been in A.D. 54, and the Epistle to the Galatians would be written the following year, viz. in A.D. 55; and a brief interval of this kind accords well enough with the expressions in the Epistle alluding to his presence amongst the Galatians not very long previously.

We must now advert to one or two objections against the date of A.D. 58. It is said by Josephus, that when Felix was recalled, his brother Pallas was still at the height of his influence, *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*, Ant. xx. 8, 9; but if Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A.D. 58, then, it is said, Felix was recalled in A.D. 60, and Pallas at that time, though still living, had lost his power. This objection proves too much, for Pallas was out of favour so early as A.D. 54¹, and in A.D. 55 was actually deprived

¹ Tac. Ann. xiii. 2.

of office^s, and Felix could not possibly have been recalled so late as A.D. 54, or A.D. 55, for, if so, Paul had been arrested by Lysias in A.D. 52, or A.D. 53, at which time he could not have been mistaken for the Egyptian, who, on the authority of Josephus himself, did not make his appearance till the reign of Nero, which began on the 13th of October, A.D. 54. Josephus, then, in using the expression, *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*, evidently exaggerates. Pallas, at the recall of Felix, was still living, and could, no doubt, still exert great interest for his brother with the judges before whom he was tried; but to describe Pallas as then *at the height of his influence* is a misrepresentation. Had the fact been so, Felix would not have been recalled.

Another objection to be noticed is, that, if Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A.D. 58, then the Epistle to the Romans was written early in the same year, just before Paul started from Corinth, and in that Epistle Paul sends a salutation to Narcissus at Rome, and Narcissus, it is said, had been put to death in A.D. 54. We answer, that this also proves too much; for if Narcissus was alive at the date of the Epistle, then Paul must have written it in the spring of A.D. 54, and have visited Jerusalem at the Pentecost of A.D. 54. But this, again, would be before the appearance of the Egyptian false prophet, alluded to by Lysias, and placed by Josephus in the reign of Nero, which commenced on the 13th of October, A.D. 54. The Narcissus saluted by Paul in the Epistle to the Romans was, no doubt, a much purer character than the celebrated courtier of that name, and was probably some

^s Tac. Ann. xiii. 14.

person eminent for his piety in private life. There were many Narcissuses at Rome, and two of them were freed-men^h of note under Claudius and Nero, but neither of them could have been the Narcissus honoured with the apostle's salutation.

^h The second freedman of that name was put to death by Galba. Dion, lxiv. 3.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DATE OF ST. PAUL'S RELEASE FROM IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

THE arrival of Paul in the temple at Jerusalem, and his release from imprisonment at Rome, are dates mutually dependent upon each other. Thus, assuming that Paul was set upon in the temple at the feast of *Pentecost*, A.D. 58, Acts xx. 16, he was two years a prisoner at Cæsarea, Acts xxiv. 27, which brings us to the Pentecost of A.D. 60, and in the autumn of that year he sailed for Rome. He was at Fair Havens, in Crete, just after the fast, which this year was on the 25th of September, Acts xxvii. 9, and he spent the three winter months at Malta, Acts xxviii. 11, and therefore arrived at Rome in the spring of A.D. 61. He remained a prisoner there for two years, Acts xxviii. 30, and consequently was liberated in the spring of A.D. 63.

This date is confirmed by the Epistle to the Hebrews, for when Paul wrote it he was at liberty, as appears from the passage, "with whom (Timothy), if he come shortly, *I will see you*," which he could not have promised if still a prisoner; Μεθ' οὗ (Timothy) ἐὰν τάχιον ἔρχηται, ὄψο-

μαι ὑμᾶς, Heb. xiii. 23 ; and yet Paul was still in Italy, for he writes, "they of *Italy* salute you," ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, Heb. xiii. 25. The date of the Epistle would, therefore, be in the spring of A.D. 63, and we shall be able to shew that the circumstances under which it was written can apply only to that particular period.

The apostle had recently received intelligence of a persecution of the Christians in Judæa, and, in fact, he addressed his Epistle to the Hebrews for the purpose of supporting them under it. They had lately seen their rulers put to death, Heb. xiii. 7, and many of the brethren were still in bonds, Heb. xiii. 3, and these sufferings were not for the first time, but a repetition of the like afflictions at an earlier period of that Church, Heb. x. 32. Such a state of things agrees exactly with the well-known persecution of the Christians of Jerusalem by Ananus, when, as mentioned by Josephus, James the Just, and others with him, were stoned to death, Ant. xx. 9, 1. We shall see that this persecution of the Christian Church at Jerusalem occurred toward the close of the preceding year, A.D. 62, and, if so, Paul would hear of it at the very time when, as we have supposed, he was set at liberty, and wrote the Epistle, viz. in the spring of A.D. 63.

As Felix was succeeded in A.D. 60 by Festus, so Festus, after he had been not long in office, was succeeded, upon his death, by Albinus. James was martyred when Albinus, the new procurator of Judæa, was on his road to Jerusalem by way of Egypt, Ant. xx. 9, 1 ; a route which would indicate the autumnal time of year, as Albinus had evi-

dently taken advantage of the etesian winds, which blow in July and August. In what year, then, did this occur? It was certainly not *later* than in A.D. 62, for Josephus tells us expressly that Albinus had arrived, and was present at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, (on the 7th of October,) of that year¹; and that Albinus did not sail from Rome at the midsummer of A.D. 61, but that he did so at the midsummer of A.D. 62, though we cannot incontrovertibly prove, we can at least shew to be a very probable hypothesis.

The exact time when Festus succeeded Felix was at the midsummer of A.D. 60. The first business upon which Festus was engaged was to clear the country of bandits. He then put down a religious impostor. After that Agrippa proceeded—which was a work of time—to raise the height of his palace, so as to overlook the temple. The Jews, thereupon, erected a counter wall on the western side of the temple, in order to shut out the view. This was resented both by Agrippa and Festus, and the Jews were ordered to demolish the wall. Negotiations then took place between the Jews, and Agrippa, and Albinus, and the Jews obtained leave, not without difficulty, to send an embassy to Nero upon the subject, and Ishmael the high-priest, and others with him, thereupon made a voyage to Rome, and succeeded in their mission by the influence of Poppæa, Ant. xix. 8, 11. To pause here for a moment; if Festus had only arrived in Judæa at midsummer A.D. 60, we can hardly suppose that this mission of Ishmael could take place the same year before the navigation of the seas was closed by

¹ Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3.

winter. We must, therefore, refer the embassy of Ishmael to the year A.D. 61, at the earliest.

To proceed: Ishmael, after an audience before the emperor, was detained at Rome by Poppæa, and when Agrippa heard of it in Judæa, which would be two months later still, he appointed Joseph, son of Cami, high-priest in the place of Ishmael; and when Joseph had been some time in office, (probably a month or two at the least,) Agrippa displaced Joseph, and appointed Ananus, and Ananus had been three months in office when Albinus was in Egypt, apparently in August or September, on his road to Judæa. Now, assuming Ishmael to have sailed from Judæa in the spring of A.D. 61, he would arrive at Rome toward the end of April; the hearing by the emperor might have been in May; the news of Ishmael's detention would reach Judæa in July, when Joseph would be appointed in his place; Ananus would succeed him in August, and would be deposed, after three months, in November, and at this time Albinus is represented to have been in Egypt, on his way to Judæa. In the foregoing statement we have allowed *the shortest time possible* for the succession of events, and even then Albinus could not have arrived in Egypt before November¹; whereas if, as is likely, he was taking advantage of the etesian winds in July or August, he would be in Egypt in September, at the latest. But, in fact, the occurrences we have mentioned occupied, no doubt, a much longer space than we have assigned to them; nor does Josephus say that they followed immediately

¹ At this season of the year he would probably have made his journey by way of Greece, across the isthmus of Corinth.

one after another, so that we may fairly conclude that Albinus could not have entered upon his province in the autumn of A.D. 61, or before the year A.D. 62.

The nearest approximation to the truth would perhaps be this. The Jewish mission under Ishmael sailed from Judæa in A.D. 61, and were heard toward the close of that year; and when the news of Ishmael's detention at Rome reached Jerusalem, at the beginning of the following year A.D. 62, Agrippa appointed Joseph high-priest, and about six months afterwards substituted Ananus in his place. Festus probably died in the spring of A.D. 62, and when the intelligence of this event reached Rome, about midsummer A.D. 62, Albinus was appointed, and he set sail in July or August, by way of Egypt, taking advantage of the etesian winds, and arrived in Judæa about September of that year. The martyrdom of James the Just, and the persecution of the Hebrew Church, had occurred a little before, and the tidings of this distress at Jerusalem would reach Paul in Italy (the seas being closed during the winter^k) the beginning of the following year A.D. 63, when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written.

Josephus speaks of Poppæa at the hearing of the Jewish mission at Rome, as the woman or wife, $\tau\eta\ \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\kappa\grave{\iota}$, Ant. xix. 8, 11; and if he meant that Poppæa was then the wife of Nero, the transaction must have taken place as late as *May*, A.D. 62, when Nero divorced Octavia and married Poppæa. But the events

^k Thus Paul sailed from Cæsarea in September A.D. 60, and arrived at Rome in March A.D. 61, and yet the Jews of Rome had received no intelligence from Judæa about Paul during the interval.

related by Josephus himself shew that this was impossible, for, after the hearing of the mission, the news of Ishmael's detention was transmitted to Judæa, and then Agrippa appointed Joseph, son of Cami, and afterwards removed him, and nominated in his stead Ananus, who was in office three months before Albinus' arrival, and yet Albinus was at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, which in A.D. 62 was on the 7th of October, Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3; and the interval between May A.D. 62, and the 7th of October A.D. 62, is clearly insufficient for these occurrences, more particularly as we must reckon nearly two months for the transmission from Rome to Judæa of Ishmael's detention, and three months for the tenure by Ananus of the high-priesthood; not to mention that Joseph, son of Cami, filled the same office for some time, though the exact duration does not appear. As Ananus's exaltation was abruptly broken off at the end of three months, Joseph was perhaps in office a much longer space.

Josephus, then, cannot mean that Poppæa, at the period of which he is speaking, was actually married to Nero, but was only living with him; and it is remarkable that in the only other parts where Josephus speaks of Poppæa, and on both occasions subsequently to her marriage, he introduces her expressly as *the wife of Nero*; φίλην οὖσαν τῆς Ποππηίας τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικὸς, Ant. xx. 11, 1; Ποππηία τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθεῖς, Vit. Jos. 3; whereas here the expression is Τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππηία (θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν) χαριζόμενος, Ant. xx. 8, 11. Poppæa, as is well known, had

been wedded to two husbands before, so that τῆ γυναικὶ was an appropriate designation of her, and on comparing the three passages together, the fair inference would be that Josephus, so far from calling her the wife of Nero at the time of Ishmael's embassy, expressly guards himself against being so understood.

It may be objected to the order of events as we have arranged them, that if Ananus, soon after the death of James, was deposed by Agrippa when he had held the office of high-priest for three months, Ant. xx. 9, 1, and was removed about the time of Albinus's arrival in September, it follows that the death of James could not have occurred (as Hegesippus places it, Euseb. lib. 2, c. 3) at the time of a Passover. We answer, that the relation of Hegesippus is wholly unworthy of credit, being little better than fable. In assigning the death of James, the brother of our Lord, to a Passover, he apparently confounds it with the death of James the brother of John, which did occur at a Passover¹. That James, the brother of our Lord, was martyred at a *Passover* is unlikely, both from the absence at the time from Jerusalem of King Agrippa, who would probably have attended the feast; and also from the omission of that circumstance in the apparently truthful version of the death of James in Josephus; and again, from the arrival of Albinus in Judæa by way of Egypt, which, according to the usual custom of travelling, would be in the autumnal months.

¹ Acts xii. 2, 4.

CONCLUSION.

Now that we have ascertained the leading dates of the New Testament, we can have little difficulty in filling up the details. Perhaps no two persons may exactly agree as to all the particulars; but, on the other hand, they cannot materially differ. The following table exhibits the author's views upon the subject :

	B.C.
Birth of John the Baptist, 2nd March	5
Birth of Christ, 2nd September	5
	A.D.
John the Baptist begins his ministry at the Pass- over 16th April	29
Christ begins His ministry six months after, in October	29
Crucifixion at the Passover, 3rd April; descent of the Holy Ghost at the Pentecost, 23rd May; Peter and John cure the cripple at the beautiful gate of the temple, and 5,000 converts are made; Peter and John are arrested and brought before the Sanhedrim	33
The deaths of Ananias and Sapphira	34
The appointment of the seven deacons	35

	A.D.
The conversion of St. Paul toward the close of the year, soon after the feast of Tabernacles	36
Philip converts the Ethiopian eunuch, while returning from the Passover	37
Paul returns from Damascus to Jerusalem about the feast of Tabernacles	39
The Churches are at rest during Caligula's attempt to erect his statue in the temple at Jerusalem; Peter makes a general circuit of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee; Cornelius called	40
The gospel preached to the Greeks at Antioch	41
Barnabas sent to Antioch, and many converts made	42
Barnabas brings Paul from Tarsus to Antioch early in the year, and before the Passover	43
Agabus foretells the famine, and Paul and Barnabas take a collection from Antioch to Jerusalem at the time of the Passover	44
Paul and Barnabas make their first circuit	45
Paul and Barnabas attend the council at Jerusalem on the question of circumcising the Gentiles	48
Paul and Silas make a circuit through Cilicia, Phrygia, and Galatia	49
Paul and Silas pass from Troas into Macedonia	51
Paul arrives at Corinth about 1st February	52
He sails from Corinth about 1st August, and reaches Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles	53
He arrives at Ephesus in the spring	54
He sails from Ephesus to Troas soon after the Passover, and, passing through Macedonia, winters at Corinth	57
He sails from Corinth shortly before the Passover, which he spends at Philippi; and attends the feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem, where he is arrested in the temple	58
After two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea, he sails for Rome in the autumn	60

A.D.

He winters at Malta, and arrives at Rome in the spring	61
He is released, after two years' imprisonment, in the spring	63
He visits Crete, Macedonia, Corinth, and Nicopolis, where he winters	64
He preaches in Dalmatia, and passes through Macedonia to Troas and Ephesus, where he is apprehended and sent again to Rome, over the isthmus of Corinth, during the winter	65
His martyrdom	66

NOTES.

P. 20. An instance is here given of the supposed computation of the reign of Herod, from the time of his actual appointment by the Romans, in November B.C. 40, and the author was led to adopt this view from the statement of Josephus, that the 28th year of Herod coincided with the 192nd Olympiad. As the 192nd Olympiad, properly so called, i. e. the first year of it, began at midsummer B.C. 12, it is manifest that the 28th year of Herod, if concurrent with that Olympiad, could only be reckoned from November B.C. 40. In all other cases, however, Josephus reckons the years of the reign from the death of Antigonus in November B.C. 37, counting the remnant of that year as a whole year, and making the 1st Jan. B.C. 36, the commencement of the second year. In the latter mode, the 28th year of Herod would coincide with B.C. 10, and that Cæsarea was completed in B.C. 10, and not in B.C. 12, may be thus shewn to be at least probable. M. Agrippa, taking with him Antipater, a son of Herod, Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3, Bell. i. 23, 2, returned from the East to Italy at the close of B.C. 13, Dion liv. 29. A correspondence then followed between Herod and Antipater, (*συνεχῶς ἐπέστλ λεν*, Ant. xvi. 4, 1,) and, eventually, in B.C. 11, Herod made a voyage to Rome, Ant. xvi. 4, 1; and after this (and therefore, apparently, in B.C. 10,) follows, in the course of the narrative, the completion of Cæsarea. Thus Josephus, in assigning it to the 192nd Olympiad, does not mean the first year of the Olympiad, in B.C. 12, but the third year of the Olympiad, in B.C. 10. In the same way the capture of Jerusalem, on the 5th of Oct. B.C. 37, is placed by the historian in the 185th Olympiad, i. e. in the fourth year of it, Ant. xiv. 16, 4. The computation of the 28 years of Herod by Josephus, thus explained, is not an exception from his usual mode of reckoning, but another exemplification of it.

P. 32. As Philo was a contemporary of St. Luke, so that his authority possesses great importance as to the usage in his time

in computing the reign of Tiberius, we may here add that Philo ascribes to the reign of Tiberius 23 years, i. e. he dates the commencement of it not from B.C. 12, but from B.C. 14; *τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἔτη γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀναψάμενος τὸ κράτος*, Leg. ad Caium, s. 21.

P. 59. It has occurred to the author, in the progress of the work through the press, that the expression, *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα*, John xii. 1, may more properly be rendered the sixth day inclusive, from the day of the Passover exclusive. Thus, the Passover was from 6 p.m. on Wednesday the 1st of April, to 6 p.m. on Thursday the 2nd of April, the paschal sacrifices being slain on the Thursday afternoon. The sixth day before would, therefore, be Friday the 27th of March, so that our Saviour reached Bethany before the commencement of the Sabbath on that day, and rested on the Sabbath at Bethany, and on Saturday, when the Sabbath was over, and therefore after 6 p.m., sat down to the supper, to which numerous guests, besides the disciples, were invited.

P. 62. There were certainly *four* Passovers in the ministry of our Saviour, but there appears no great improbability in the hypothesis that there were even *five*. On the latter supposition, the events would arrange themselves thus:—

A.D. 28. John the Baptist begins his ministry at the close of the year, i. e. in the 15th year of Tiberius, Luke iii. 1, and therefore after the 19th of August.

A.D. 29. Jesus is baptized in February. He is tempted forty days, and then returns to John the Baptist, John i. 29, and passes to Cana, John ii. 1, and thence to Capernaum, and, after a few days, attends the Passover at Jerusalem on April 16th, John ii. 12, when the temple is said to have been forty-six years in building, John ii. 20. Jesus preaches in Judæa till November, John iii. 22, iv. 35. John is cast into prison, and Jesus retires to Capernaum, where He passes the winter, Mark i. 14, Matt. iv. 12.

A.D. 30. Jesus makes a circuit through Galilee and visits Nazareth, Luke iv. 14, and returns to Capernaum about midsummer, Luke iv. 31, Mark i. 21. He makes a second circuit through the whole of Galilee, Luke iv. 44, Mark i. 39, and attends the feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem on the 30th of September, John v. 1, and passes the winter at Capernaum, Mark ii. 1.

A.D. 31. Jesus makes a third circuit, in the course of which occurs the

Passover referred to by Luke in the expression ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρωτῷ, Luke vi. 1, and returns to Capernaum, Luke vii. 1. He commences a *fourth* circuit, Luke vii. 11, and again returns to Capernaum, Mark iii. 20; and then a *fifth* circuit, Mark iv. 35, and returns to Capernaum, where He passes the winter, Matt. ix. 1, Mark v. 21, Luke viii. 40.

A.D. 32. Jesus makes a *sixth* circuit, Mark vi. 1, Matt. xiii. 54, when the apostles are sent to preach by two and two, Matt. x. 1, Mark vi. 7, Luke ix. 1. The death of John the Baptist. The 5,000 are fed at the time of the Passover, John vi. 4, &c.

In the above table it will be observed, that the temple is said to have been forty-six years building in A.D. 29, and not (as assumed at p. 41) in A.D. 30. Supposing the preparations for the temple (see p. 41) to have occupied one year only, instead of two, the building itself would, in A.D. 29, have continued forty-six years.

Again, John, in the above table, is said to have been cast into prison in A.D. 29, and not (as stated at p. 47,) in A.D. 30; but the former hypothesis may not, improbably, be the truth, for as Livia died early in the year, Herod Antipas may have sailed to Rome, and returned to Judæa in A.D. 29, more particularly as he was in haste to consummate his marriage with Herodias, and John may have been cast into prison immediately on Herod's arrival in Galilee, toward the close of the year.

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